

UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE STUDENTS' LEADERSHIP ENGAGEMENT

by

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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, Younghee Lee & Sungsook Shim

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“Though one may be overpowered, two can defend themselves. A cord of three strands is not quickly broken.” Ecclesiastes 4:12

The road that I traveled by for the past seven years would have been much more rough and tough if it had not been for the company who held me with a cord of three strands. I planned my course to PhD at the beginning, but each of my steps were determined with my companions who are completely different, yet are all genuinely interested in my growth and learning. Here, at the end of my one scholarly journey, I am so glad that my steps did not lead me to where I originally planned, but rather brought me to a much better place beyond my wildest dreams. My debt to each of you is unfathomable. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to each of you for being such a patient, wise, pleasant company. Specifically, my thanks to:

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## ABSTRACT

### UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE STUDENTS' LEADERSHIP ENGAGEMENT

by

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Chair: Patricia M. King

Preparing young men and women for the complex leadership challenges of today's society is a primary goal of U.S. higher education. Today's society requires all individuals, as leaders, to work wisely with diverse people and initiate changes for resolving complex, intertwining social issues. Relational models of leadership have conceptualized leadership as a collective property that is derived not from a single powerful individual in a position of authority, but from the relationships of people working together for a greater good. Given this relational conceptualization of leadership, this study seeks an understanding of college students' leadership engagement by analyzing the three-year (2006–2008) longitudinal interview data from 39 students enrolled at four institutions participating in the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education. A total of 111 leadership experiences reported from 39 students over three years of their college attendance were analyzed for this study.

A grounded theory analysis of these experiences revealed three key categories featuring these students' leadership engagement. These categories are 1) *predisposition towards leadership*, a set of assumptions upon entering college that contributed to their eagerness to engage; 2) *environmental nudges* provided by either intentional educational practices or peers that prompted students to engage; and 3) *modes of engagements*, mechanisms in which students

sustained their motivation and commitment towards a relational leadership process. Further, four distinctive modes of engagement were observed in this study: (a) *task-based personal mode of engagement*, the motive for engagement derived from achieving the challenging tasks that are directed to self-improvement; (b) *value-based personal mode*, the motive derived from expressing or acting congruently on internal values; (c) *affinity-based connection mode*, the motive derived from close relationships that provide a sense of unity; and (d) *empathy-based connection mode*, the motive derived from relationships with people towards whom students felt empathy. A gender comparison revealed that female students used connection modes more frequently than men, which demonstrated women's interpersonally-oriented approaches to leadership.

A developmental analysis framed by self-authorship theory showed that developmental complexities moderated students' interpretation of and approaches to their leadership experiences. Not only were more complex modes of engagements prevalent among those using more advanced structures of meaning making, but students' understanding of their leadership roles, values or relationships was more complex.

## **Chapter 1. PREPARING FUTURE LEADERS FOR COMPLEX CHALLENGES**

U.S. institutions of higher education have emphasized instilling a sense of leadership and service in undergraduate students since the inception of American higher education (Bowen, 1997; Rudolph, 1962; Thelin, 2004). Leadership development is still a prominent theme and objective in the 21<sup>st</sup> century American colleges and universities, which is well evidenced in many college mission statements and the preponderance of leadership education programs in college campuses (Astin, 1993; Ayman, Adams, Fisher, & Hartman, 2003; Boatman, 1999; Komives, Lucas, & McMahon, 2006; Zimmerman-Oster & Burkhardt, 1999). Although promoting a sense of leadership among college graduates has long been an espoused outcome of American higher education, the social context in which college education serves its purpose has shifted and compels different considerations for what it means to educate future leaders.

### **A Changing Picture of Leadership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Turbulence, conflict, change, surprise, challenge, and possibility are all words that describe today's world and that evoke myriad emotions ranging from fear and anxiety to excitement, enthusiasm, and hope. Clearly, the problems and challenges that we face today ... call for adaptive, creative solutions that will require a new kind of leadership (Astin & Astin, 2000, p. 1).

Examples of the kinds of problems and challenges to which Astin and Astin refer include living in a globalized world, adapting to increasing diversity, and living in a knowledge-based society.

Jean Lipman-Blumen (1996) calls this the “connectionist era,” emphasizing the complex interconnections among people, organizations, and nations through a network of political, economic, and environmental interdependence. The world is shrinking in the twenty first century more than any time in human history through trading goods and services, sharing common environmental concerns (e.g., global warming), and building short or long-term political and economic coalitions (e.g., NATO). Distant events and forces impact our lives as much as local and regional factors; for example, the U.S. financial crisis influence the stock market in Asian countries, and the Japanese nuclear crisis is a serious environmental concern not only in Japan and surrounding Asian countries, but also in the U.S. and European countries. The complex interconnections and interdependence call for shared responsibility of people, organizations, and nations since the issues to be addressed are global in scale and outstrip the ability of one single powerful leader or nation. Subsequently, leadership in the connectionist era will develop ways to bring global perspectives to the issues at hand, to build a common agenda among many different parts of the world, and to work collaboratively with others who are geographically detached but shared similar vested interests (Allen, Stelzner, & Wielkiewicz, 1998; Lipman-Blumen, 1996).

Another phenomenon marking this era is the increasing diversity of identities and cultures (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). Technological advances in transportation and communication have increased the mobility of people and brought unprecedented diversity to many geographical regions. This is very noticeable in U.S. society, which is moving from a predominantly white nation to a multi-racial and multi-cultural society. Based on U.S. census data, it is projected that less than half of the population in 2050 would comprise White non-Hispanic people (Day, 1996). Despite the increasing diversity in demographic and cultural landscape, the U.S. as well as other nations in the world is still plagued by racial and ethnic segregation and conflicts. These tensions

in the context of increasing diversity require leadership that can bring the diverse voices together, and construct inclusive and just decision-making processes.

A third major challenge of this era is learning to live in a knowledge-based society. Peter Drucker, renowned futurist and scholar of management, heralded the advent of knowledge economy in which knowledge is not only a tool for economic production but also an end product (Drucker, 1992). In line with this prediction, knowledge is being produced at an exponential rate with the help of technological innovations (e.g., the internet). The volume of information makes it difficult to reach a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand and identify relevant information for problem solving; it frequently surpasses the learning capability of a single individual. Subsequently, cooperation with others is necessary to expand an individual's knowledge base, and to more effectively address issues at hand (Allen, et al., 1998; Rogers, 2003).

These problems and challenges arising from the connectionist, diverse, and knowledge era make leadership more complicated because they require leaders to incorporate a global perspective into problem-solving processes, to build a collaborative process among people who have different values and cultural backgrounds, and to help groups of people develop a collective capacity to identify, analyze, and use relevant information in the flood of both good information and misinformation. In the midst of increasing complexity in leadership demands, U.S. society is facing "the relative lack of leadership (Astin & Astin, 2000; Bennis, 2009, p. 16)." As Bennis (2009) pointed out, the series of scandals and crises occurring in U.S. and other parts of the world (e.g., ENRON, the Japanese nuclear crisis) have taught more about bad leadership rather than providing exemplary cases. In other words, this era should develop new leadership that



better adapts to the challenges and problems of an interconnected, diverse, knowledge-based world.

### **Leadership Redefined**

The challenges of a global, knowledge-based society demand new models of leadership that are different from conventional models of leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1996; Rost, 1991). “Powerful, all-knowing individuals who sit atop a pyramid, controlling the people and processes of an organization”(Rogers, 2003, p. 450) was the image of a leader in the conventional model of leadership. Leadership, from this perspective, pertained to individual leaders with formal positions or authority in a formal hierarchical organization, and was about their actions, behavioral styles, and traits that separated them out from ordinary followers.

The leader-centric perspective of leadership was criticized due to its hierarchical, authoritative overtone and the lack of concern for the general needs of society as the purpose of leadership process (Allen & Cherrey, 2000; Lipman-Blumen, 1996; Rost, 1991; Rost & Barker, 2000). The typical role of the leader in the leader-centric model was to monitor, control, and direct followers in order to ensure maximum effectiveness and excellence defined by organizational goals. The distinction between leaders and followers was strictly preserved, and the role of followers was largely ignored in the leadership process. This leader-centric model of leadership is not well-suited to the demands of the twenty first century (above mentioned) because the challenges of the era surpass the capabilities of a single leader; rather, they require collaborative leadership in which every individual is engaged with and feels a strong ownership of the change process (Allen & Cherrey, 2000; Lipman-Blumen, 1996; Rost, 1991). A clear vision for a new leadership model in the twenty first century is illustrated by Rost and Marker’s (2000) discussion of postindustrial leadership;

Postindustrial leadership will be based on the assumption that leadership is the result of the intentions and actions of numerous individuals – the sum of individual wills – rather than the result of one individual’s will and action. Rather than industrial values, postindustrial leadership will stress collaboration, wholeness, consensus, client-orientation, civic virtues, and freedom of expression. Its outcomes will be expressed in global connections, diversity, pluralism, critical dialogue, and multidisciplinary perspectives rather than in profits and efficiencies (p. 5).

Resonating with this vision of leadership, the current concepts of leadership are defined in relational terms, emphasizing mutuality, inclusiveness, and social responsibility of the leadership process. For example, Murrell (1997) defines leadership as shared responsibility, “a social act, a construction of a ‘ship’ as a collective vehicle to help take us where we as a group, organization or society desire to go”(p. 35). As a shared, collective process, leadership should broaden its focus to include “more parties to the process than just the leader” and “more than just the leader-follower exchange relationship” (Murrell, 1997, p. 39). In a similar vein, Astin and Astin (2000) define leadership as “a group process whereby individuals work together in order to foster change and transformation in society (p. 11).” Due to their strong emphasis on social change as the purpose of leadership, their model is entitled ‘*Social Change Model of Leadership*’ (A. W. Astin & Astin, 2000; H. S. Astin, 1996). Komives and her colleagues (2006), another group of higher education scholars, state that leadership is “a relational and ethical process of people together attempting to accomplish positive change” (p. 74). They also offer five interacting characteristics of leadership: inclusive, empowering, purposeful, ethical, and process oriented. These new approaches imply that leadership is a collaborative relationship among many individuals that is oriented toward socially desired goals.

## **Leadership Development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Redefining the model of leadership necessarily reconfigures the focus of leadership education. When leadership is defined as a collaborative process of people working together for the achievement of a co-constructed goal, leadership development would require preparing individuals for that process. In other words, leadership development indicates enhancement and protecting of individual-based knowledge, skills, and values required for effectively participating in the leadership process (Day, 2000; McCauley, Moxley, & Van Velsor, 1998). Accordingly, the literature on these new models of leadership development discusses many different types of leadership skills and knowledge (e.g., Astin [1996]’s social change model, Komives, et al [2006]’s relational leadership).

Campbell, Dardis and Campbell (2003) summarized that the existing literature generally viewed leadership development in terms of enhancing intra-personal qualities and interpersonal skills, and further specified these broad domains into five skill categories: 1) intrapersonal, 2) interpersonal, 3) cognitive, 4) communication, and 5) task-related skills. Developing intrapersonal qualities involves creating an accurate and healthy self-model, which will be relevant to self-awareness, self-regulation, and self-motivation (Campbell, et al., 2003; Day & O'Connor, 2001). Avolio and Gardner (2005) gave emphasis to intrapersonal development of leaders with the premise that increased intrapersonal qualities (e.g., increased self-awareness) would help building authentic relationships between individuals through allowing accurate presentation of themselves to the relationships. Interpersonal skills are directly related to the collaborative process of leadership, and cover those skills and knowledge that are necessary for motivating and empowering others to continue their engagement in the leadership process (Riggio & Lee, 2007). The cognitive domain of leadership development indicates enhancement

of certain cognitive abilities that are tied to problem identification, analysis, and solving. Because the new leadership concepts concerns general social needs and change, enhancement of cognitive skills also involves moral and ethical development that is tied to decision making and treatment of diverse others (e.g., Brown & Trevino, 2006; Komives, Lucas, et al., 2006). Communication skills are a subset of interpersonal competencies, but Campbell and his colleagues separated the two because of the central role of communication in the process of leadership. Lastly, task-related skills are narrower than the other domains of skills in terms of their applicability, and indicate specific skills and expertise required for conducting certain tasks. The authors argued that enhancing task-related skills is critical because specific expertise may give individuals the ability to facilitate others' work, which may lead to more effective collaborative process (Campbell, et al., 2003).

In the midst of the prevalence of skill-based leadership development models, Hooijberg, Hunt, and Dodge (1997) adopted a specific terminology to present different characterizations of leadership capacities. They coined the term “leaderplex” (i.e., leadership + complexity) to describe complex leadership capacities required for leaders who want to effectively work in complex and ever changing social and organizational contexts. They carefully differentiated leadership complexity from skill or qualities which often represented “the ability to translate knowledge into action that results in desired performance” (Hooijberg, et al., 1997; Hunt, 1991, p. 156). By contrast, leadership complexity refers to the fundamental potential or mental capacity of individuals that allows one to choose appropriate ways of thinking (i.e., cognitive complexity), behaving (i.e., behavioral complexity) and interacting with others (i.e., social complexity) in a given context. Leadership complexity, in this sense, can be expressed as the ample repertoire of

leader's thinking and acting as well as the different frame of reference by which individuals organize their experiences, relationships, or thinking (Hooijberg, et al., 1997).

In line with the argument made by Hooijberg and his colleagues, there is a strand of leadership literature that draws from a human development perspective, emphasizes fundamental change rather than skill development. For example, Russell and Kuhnert (1992) integrated Kegan's theory of adult development into leadership development, and asserted that leaders' different levels of meaning making would link to qualitatively different ways of leadership skill acquisition. Eigel and Kuhnert (2005) incorporated meaning-making capacity into leadership development, and created the model of Leadership Development Level. These models, drawing from constructive-developmental frameworks and Kegan (1994)'s theory of adult development in particular, show how leadership development reflects principles of human development as a continual cycle of differentiation and integration, moving toward increasing levels of complexity in one's identity, world-view, and relationships. The underlying premise of these models is that a more complex and advanced level of development would lead to more complicated and sophisticated ways of behaving, thinking and relating, which would enable individuals to better prepare for leadership.

### **Leadership Development and College Education**

U.S. Higher education has always played a pivotal role in educating new generations of leaders in politics, business, law, academics, and other sectors in the society. As such, in the era of interconnection and knowledge, American institutions of higher learning are being called upon to educate socially responsible leaders who can actively participate in a collaborative leadership process and achieve desired social change. Astin and Astin (2000) advocated the relational conceptualization of leadership and proposed nine leadership values and qualities that

should be taught and encouraged throughout college campus. These qualities are grouped into two broader domains of intrapersonal and interpersonal development. Five intrapersonal qualities include self-knowledge, authenticity, commitment, empathy, and individual competences (e.g., task mastery) necessary for successful completion of collective efforts, and four interpersonal qualities are collaboration, shared purpose, disagreement with respect, and division of labor.

In a series of national reports and initiatives, the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) has called upon cultivating personal and social responsibility among college students, which resonates with the values and purposes of leadership process in the twenty-first century. For example, *Greater Expectation: A New Vision for Learning as a Nation Goes College* (AAC&U, 2002), a national panel report, asserted that college graduates need to learn a variety of skills and capacities, including several that address the value of leadership development: understand and work within complex systems and with diverse groups, manage change, understand the interrelations within and among global and cross-cultural communities, and take responsibility for society's moral health and for social justice. In a more recent report titled *College Learning for the New Global Century* (AAC&U, 2007), the National Leadership Council for Liberal Education and America's Promise called on giving a new priority to a set of educational outcomes that are "closely calibrated with the realities of our complex and volatile world" (p. 11). The report presented a range of skills needed to cope with the complex and volatile world, which include teamwork skills, civic knowledge and engagement (local and global). These skills and knowledge are highlighted as important components for leadership in the twenty-first century.

Leadership for social change is also explicitly included as a desired learning outcome of liberal arts education (Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education [WNS], 2004). The

WNS is a four-year longitudinal, multi-institutional, mixed-methods research study designed to document the effects of collegiate experiences on liberal arts outcomes and self-authorship. The seven learning outcomes are: effective reasoning and problem solving, moral character, intercultural effectiveness, inclination to inquire, integration of learning, well-being, and leadership (King, Kendall Brown, Lindsay, & VanHecke, 2007). In the WNS, leadership is defined based on the model of social change leadership (Astin, 1996), which focuses on necessary capacities for participating in a relational process through which people make positive changes in the society.

In the midst of these mounting calls for producing college graduates who are capable of participating in collaborative leadership for a larger social good, U.S. institutions of higher learning have developed and implemented a plethora of student leadership education programs. Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt (1999) found that formal leadership development and education programs had a positive impact not only on students who participated in these programs but also on institutions and college communities in general. A study conducted by Cress, Astin, Zimmerman-Oster and Burkhardt (2001) examined the types of outcomes that resulted from these formal programs, and showed that participation in leadership education programs increased students' leadership knowledge and skills, a sense of civic responsibility, multicultural awareness, and personal and societal values.

Researchers have also found that curricular and co-curricular experiences other than formal leadership training and education, promote practical leadership skills such as public speaking, interpersonal and teamwork skills (Astin, 1993; Grandzol, 2008; S. L. Hall, Forrester, & Borsz, 2008; Logue, Hutchens, & Hector, 2005), confidence in leadership and social self-efficacy (Astin, 1993; Kezar & Moriarty, 2000), and attitudes toward civic and community

engagement (Astin & Sax, 1998). The range and type of college experiences relevant to the development of leadership capacities are broad, including liberal arts education experiences (Seifert et al., 2008), positional leadership experiences (Astin, 1993; Cress, et al., 2001; Kezar & Moriarty, 2000; Logue, et al., 2005), service learning (Astin & Sax, 1998; Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999), peer education training (Badura, Millard, Peluso, & Ortman, 2000), athletic activities (Grandzol, 2008; S. L. Hall, et al., 2008), and interactions with diverse peers and faculty members (Antonio, 2001; Astin, 1993; Kuh, 1995).

Rost and Barker (2000) offered the critique that student leadership education on most college campuses was not structured around the values of the 21<sup>st</sup> century leadership approaches that emphasize a collaborative, inclusive, and ethnical process. They found that many of the college leadership education programs were individualistic, hierarchical, trained only the selected few (mostly student organization leaders as an elite class), and taught management skills targeted at dyadic leader-follower relationships. In a similar vein, many of previous studies examined behaviors and perceptions of students' leaders (e.g., Grandzol, 2008; Logue, et al., 2005; Romano, 1996) and applied a hierarchical, dyadic relationship-focused leadership conception when studying student leadership development (e.g., Kouzes & Posner, 1998, 2003; Logue, et al., 2005). Rost and Barker (2000) called these approaches to leadership education 20<sup>th</sup> century approaches, and asserted that they could not address the leadership demands of the new era.

Another criticism of current leadership education approaches is the lack of coherence between formal leadership programs and co-curricular activities fostering student leadership. Astin and Astin (2000) asserted that most of the nations' higher education institutions have not given enough emphasis to leadership education despite their explicitly stated goals of producing



future leaders, which often appear in the mission statements of colleges and universities. They then added that higher education should rearrange its curricular requirements to make a college curriculum coherently aligned to teach leadership for social change.

Finally, although a growing number of studies have considered the fundamental human development as a factor for leadership development, there is a dearth of leadership education programs that consider students' developmental capacity. This trend is also consistent in the research on student leadership development. With the exception of studies conducted on cadets (e.g., Atwater, Dionne, Avolio, Camobreco, & Lau, 1999; Bartone, Snook, Forsythe, Lewis, & Bullis, 2007; Bartone, Snook, & Tremble, 2002), higher education research on leadership has not taken students' developmental capacity into account. Students with mature capacities (Kegan, 1994; Baxter Magolda, 2001) experience and perceive educational contexts differently than their less mature peers. In other words, inadequate consideration of students' developmental capacity may fail to explain *why* and *how* students develop certain leadership skills and knowledge through college experiences. Thus, future studies may add invaluable knowledge by bringing a developmental lens to college student leadership research.

### **Gender Matters in College Student Leadership Development**

The higher education literature has also provided a great deal of evidence of gender differences in students' development and learning, including leadership development. For example, women, compared to men, struggle more with developing autonomy and separating from their parents (Josselson, 1987; Sax, 2008), express less confidence in their leadership abilities (Smith, Morrison, & Wolf, 1994), and have different styles of learning and ways of knowing (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1997). Of particular relevance to leadership development, women experience numerous social and psychological

barriers to becoming high-level leaders due to prevailing sex stereotyping that has equated leadership with masculine traits and devalued women's leadership qualities (Boatwright & Egidio, 2003; Heilman, 2001; Lips, 2000; Miller & Kraus, 2004). These negative stereotypes of women undermine women's motivation and aspiration to become involved in leadership experiences, thereby further limiting women's opportunity to develop and practice leadership skills. Gendered social norms produced different expectations for female and male leaders. When female leaders display assertive, agentic behaviors, they are disliked, regarded as abrasive, and penalized for not presenting enough feminine qualities. On the contrary, when male leaders showed helping and caring attitudes, they are highly regarded, and rewarded for presenting these extra qualities in addition to their masculine traits (Eagly, 2007; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Heilman & Chen, 2005). These gender differences have led leadership educators, practitioners, and theorists to grapple with the question of whether women require special consideration to become effective leaders, and, if so, what kind of educational and developmental model could address women's leadership needs (Bass, 1990; Klenke, 1996).

Gender shapes not just the characteristics of women and men entering college but also the way in which women and men *experience* college. In various ways and to varying extents, gender influences how women's and men's interactions with people, programs, and services on campus ultimately contribute to their academic success, their beliefs about themselves, and their outlook on life. (Sax, 2009, p. 9)

As Linda Sax elaborates, gender influences not only students' styles of learning and development, but the way they experience college. Resonating with this observation, some studies of college leadership development have also considered gender when examining the impact of certain college experiences (e.g., positional leadership, student organizational involvement) on student

learning outcomes. For example, both positional leadership and group involvement positively influence student leadership development, but the degree of influence differs by gender. While male students benefit more by taking positional leadership than by group involvement, female students learned more leadership skills through group involvement than taking leadership positions (Kezar & Moriarty, 2000). Although these studies identified types of college experiences that are differently experienced by female and male college students, there is a dearth of research on how male and female students approach these experiences, and why these experiences are differently perceived and experienced by each gender.

### **Purpose of the Study**

In an increasingly interconnected and rapidly changing world where social issues are ill-structured and outstrip a single powerful leader's ability, there is a need to better teach and develop leadership capacities among college students who will work collaboratively in a leadership process in order to cope with complex social issues and engage in positive social change. U.S. higher education has played a pivotal role in preparing college students for future leadership. As such, the focus of this study is to examine key features of students' leadership experiences. The broad purpose of this study is to gain a more nuanced understanding of how college students are engaged with and make sense of their leadership experiences and of the role of gender and developmental maturity in the ways that students make meaning of these experiences.

### **Contribution of the Study**

The study will build on the small but growing number of studies that use a definition of leadership that conceptualizes leadership as a relational process in which participants collaboratively work to cope with complex social issues, and to create positive social change.

Using this definition will offer a different perspective to the approaches of teaching leadership knowledge and skills to students. More specifically, this study will provide descriptions of how college students learn and develop leadership capacities, skills, and attitudes necessary for effectively participating in the leadership processes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by navigating many different college experiences. This information will present the types and the sequence of experiences that are helpful for student leadership development, and thereby help student affairs professionals to better design leadership education and curriculum. This study will also explore gender-related patterns in leadership experiences and development; these findings will expand our understanding of how gender differently shape students' experiences on college campus and what interventions, if any, are needed to better serve the needs of female and male college students. Lastly, this inquiry will also contribute to theory building by integrating a holistic student development theory with theories of leadership.

## **Chapter 2. LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT AMONG COLLEGE WOMEN AND MEN**

This chapter summarizes and critiques literature that addresses or informs leadership development of college students. Since the literature on leadership development is complex and draws on a variety of disciplinary fields including education, business and management, political science, and psychology, it is important to set the parameters of literature to be reviewed. In the following section, I review three bodies of literature as they are related to college student leadership development: leadership education and development models, college student learning and development, and gender influences on college student leadership development.

In the first part, I examine a number of leadership development models. I organize these models into two broad categories as they emphasize different aspects of leadership development: leadership educational models and leadership developmental models. Leadership educational models, as they are more tied to formal leadership education, identify the content of leadership development; that is, they identify, categorize, and illustrate many different skills and knowledge required for leadership development. Leadership developmental models embed developing leadership skills in life-span human development, and elaborate how numerous leadership skills and knowledge change over time. Developmental models, thus, provide implications for how leadership skills evolve over time. Next, I review the literature of college student learning and development as it relates to leadership development. Two major approaches to study college

student learning and development are examined: college impact studies and student development studies. Third, I turn to a number of theories that explain gender effects on leadership development. The chapter will conclude with a conceptual framework that synthesizes various components of leadership development reviewed in the chapter and guides the research questions and methodology for the study, which is introduced in Chapter three.

### **Models of Leadership Development**

Leadership development as it relates to promoting individual-based capacities for leadership implies two different but connected concepts: leadership development and leadership education. According to Brungardt (1996), leadership development refers to “almost every form of growth or stage of development in a life cycle that promotes, encourages, and assists in one’s leadership potential” (p. 83); in comparison, leadership education, defined more narrowly than leadership development, refers to interventions and educational environments designed to enhance and foster leadership abilities.

In line with this distinction between leadership education and development, I organize existing leadership development model into two categories: leadership capacity models and developmental models. The focus of the former is on identifying and describing leadership knowledge and skills. These models are leadership education-oriented because skills specified in the model inform the content of these intervention programs. Developmental models describe leadership development in a larger context of human development, and shows how leaders’ skills and knowledge change over time. Both models offer the picture of leadership development that can inform the inquiry of college student leadership development.

## **Models of Leadership Capacities**

A variety of terminologies and concepts have been adopted to describe necessary capacities that should be taught and learned in the leadership education. For example, the following terms have been used to depict the characteristics and the domains of leadership capacities: core leadership values (Astin, 1996; Higher Education Research Institute [HERI], 1996), leadership capacities (Allen & Cherrey, 2000; Cherrey & Allen, 2001), leadership beliefs (Drath, et al., 2008), leadership efficacy (Anderson, Krajewski, Goffin, & Jackson, 2008; Hannah, et al., 2008), leadership skills (Day & O'Connor, 2001; Mumford, Hunter, Eubanks, Bedell, & Murphy, 2007; Mumford, Marks, Connelly, Zaccaro, & Reiter-Palmon, 2000; Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, & Fleishman, 2000), leadership complexity (Day & Lance, 2004; Hooijberg, Hunt, & Dodge, 1997), and knowing-being-doing for leadership (Komives, Lucas, et al., 2006). Among these many different ways to describe leadership capacities, skill-based approaches are most prevalent. The term, “skill,” defined as “the ability to translate knowledge into action that results in desired performance” (Hunt, 1991, p. 156) implies strong behavioral connotation. As such, leadership capacity models identify and specify a range of desired behaviors and attitudes that should be presented in the leadership process.

Helen Astin (1996)’s Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) is one such model that describes desired behavioral and attitudinal patterns of leaders. The SCM is designed for college student leadership education, and defines leadership as “a group process whereby individuals work together in order to foster change and transformation” (Astin & Astin, 2000, p. 11). With its strong emphasis on social change as a desired outcome of leadership, the SCM proposed seven core values that should be realized within the leadership education process. These values are Consciousness of self, Commitment, Congruence, Collaboration, Controversy

with civility, Common purpose, and Citizenship. Table 2.1 describes each value. Referred to as the Seven C's of change, each of these values is practiced in three different levels: personal, group, and social level. Personal values refer to the basic intrapersonal qualities that support group functioning, and include self-consciousness, commitment and congruence. Group values involve collaboration, common purpose, and controversy with civility, all of which emphasize the ways individuals should practice in a group setting. Lastly, citizenship is proposed as the societal and community value that binds individual and group values by clarifying the purpose of the leadership (Astin, 1996; HERI, 1996).

Table 2.1.

*Description of Seven Core Leadership Values of the Social Change Model of Leadership*

Seven C's		Description
Personal	Consciousness of self	Awareness of the values, emotions, attitudes, and beliefs that motivate one to take action
	Congruence	Thinking, feeling and behaving with consistency, genuineness, authenticity, and honesty toward others
	Commitment	Intensity and duration in relation to a persona, idea, or activity
Group	Collaboration	Achieving common goals by sharing responsibility, and accountability
	Common purpose	Shared aims facilitating group members' engagement
	Controversy with civility	Different viewpoints aired openly and with respect
<b>Social</b>	Citizenship	Social or civic responsibility, the purpose of Leadership process

From Astin, H. S. (1996). Leadership for social change. *About Campus: Enriching the Student Learning Experience*, 1(3), pp. 4-10.

Komives, Lucas, and McMahon (2006) organized the Relational Leadership model that is also applicable to college student leadership education. The model, similar to the SCM, defines leadership as “a relational and ethical process of people together attempting to accomplish



positive change” (p. 74), and describes five interacting characters of the leadership process: (1) being purposefully committed to positive changes, (2) being inclusive of diverse view points, (3) empowering those involved, (4) being ethical, and (5) being process-oriented. They then provide an extensive list of knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for executing each character of the leadership process. Table 2.2 presents the complete list of knowledge, attitudes and skills for practicing five components of relational leadership. For example, in order to practice empowerment (i.e. the third row in Table 2.2), people must have knowledge of themselves and others (knowledge domain), be open to difference and appreciate other viewpoints (attitude domain), and be capable of sharing information with others and encouraging oneself and others to deeply engage in the leadership process (skills domain).

Table 2.2.  
*Knowledge, Attitudes and Skills for Relational Leadership Components*

Leadership Component	Knowledge	Attitudes	Skills
Purposeful	Process and elements of change; Common purpose and shared value	Commitment to social responsibility; “Can do” attitude	Identifying goals; meaning-making; creative thinking
Inclusive	Self and others; multiple perspectives; citizenship	Open to difference; Values equity; Belief in human potential of making difference	Listening skills; coalition building; civil discourse
Empowering	Power; factors affecting empowerment	Self-esteem; Concern for others’ growth; willingness to share power	Sharing information; Encouraging or affirming others; self-empowerment
Ethical	Self and others’ values; Ethical decision making models; Systems factors affecting justice and care	Commitment to socially responsible behavior; Values integrity, authenticity, trustworthiness; prioritizing others over self-gain	Being congruent, trusting, reliable and courageous; using moral imagination
Process-oriented	Group process; Relational aspect of leadership	Values process; Develops systems perspective	Collaboration; reflection; civil confrontation; providing feedback

From Komives, S. R., Lucas, N., & McMahon, T. R. (2006). *Exploring leadership: For college students who want to make a difference* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 78-79

Campbell, Dardis, and Campbell (2003) organized the extensive list of leadership skills into broader domains: 1) intrapersonal, 2) interpersonal, 3) cognitive, 4) communication, and 5) task-related skills. Table 2.3 describes the educational focus of each domain and shows examples of skills and knowledge that fit into each domain. To illustrate, developing intrapersonal qualities involves creating an accurate and healthy self-model, which is relevant to increased self-awareness, self-regulation, and self-motivation (Campbell, et al., 2003; Day & O'Connor, 2001). In addition, it also indicates the enhancement of a particular character (e.g., moral character, civic responsibility) that is desired by a certain leadership model. Developing interpersonal skills indicates increasing skills and qualities necessary for motivating and empowering others to continue their engagement in the leadership process. The cognitive domain of leadership development indicates the enhancement of certain cognitive abilities that are tied to problem identification, analysis, and solving. Communication skills are a subset of interpersonal competencies, but Campbell and his colleagues separated the two because of the central role of communication in the leadership process. Lastly, task-related skills are narrower than the other domains of skills in terms of their applicability, and indicate specific skills and expertise required for conducting a certain task. They argued that enhancing task-related skills is critical because specific expertise may give individuals the ability to facilitate others' work, which may lead to more effective collaboration (Campbell, et al., 2003).

Table 2.3.

*Educational Focus and Description of Skills and Knowledge by Leadership Skill Domain*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Educational focus</b>	<b>Relevant Skills &amp; Knowledge</b>
Intrapersonal qualities	Creating an accurate and healthy self-model; cultivating a particular character necessary for leadership	self-awareness, self-motivation, self-regulation, moral character
Interpersonal	Developing particular interpersonal skills and qualities needed by the leader to motivate others	team building skills, interpersonal skills, social awareness
Cognitive	Developing cognitive abilities as they relate to problem analysis and solving	problem solving skills, analytic skills
Communication	Developing communication skills central to transformational leadership relations	communication skills
Task-related Skills	technical and professional training of Specific tasks	work expertise, organizational knowledge, task-specific skills

From Campbell, D. J., Dardis, G., & Campbell, K. M. (2003). Enhancing incremental influence: A focused approach to leadership development. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 10(1), 29-44.

In the midst of the dominance of skill-based descriptions of leadership capacities, Hooijberg, Hunt, and Dodge (1997) came up with a specific terminology to present different characterizations of leadership capacities. They created the term, “Leaderplex,” a compound word of leadership and complexity to separate their concept of leadership from the dominant skill-based descriptions. Leaderplex refers to the fundamental potential or mental capacity of individuals that allows people to choose appropriate ways of thinking, behaving, and interacting with others in a given context. Leaderplex, or leadership complexity, in this sense, can be expressed as the ample repertoire of leader’s thinking and acting as well as the different frames of reference by which individuals organize their experiences, relationships, or thinking (Hooijberg, et al., 1997). Leadership complexity is composed of three domains: cognitive, social, and behavioral complexity. Cognitive complexity is relevant to information processing, problem

analysis and constructing meaning of one's experiences; social complexity indicates a leader's capacity to differentiate the personal and relational aspects of a social situation and integrate them in a manner that results in increased understanding or changed action. Cognitive and social complexities are described as antecedents to behavioral complexity, which is defined as a differentiation of behaviors according to the changing contexts of leadership. Compared to skill-based models, the leaderplex model attends to leaders' capacity to coordinate their decisions, thinking and behaviors, and thereby highlights not just what leaders should do, but also how or why leaders take those actions. In other words, the leaderplex model, distinctive from other models, alludes to the importance of developing leaders' mental capacity that enables leaders to choose and display appropriate behaviors in a given leadership contexts.

Leadership capacities models reviewed in this section identified multidimensional skills and knowledge required for leadership. Covering a broad array of skills and describing what these skills imply, these models provide implications for designing leadership education programs. That is, they inform the educational objectives of these programs. However, these models in general do not provide an explanation of how to develop these skills and knowledge, which limits the actual application of these models to educational interventions. In the following section, I will turn to developmental models of leadership that describe how these skills and knowledge develop over time, and thereby complement leadership capacity models.

### **Developmental Models: Leader Complexity Development**

In line with the leaderplex model described above, a body of leadership development literature has also addressed leaders' mental complexity as it relates to the enhancement of leadership skills and knowledge (e.g., Day & Lance, 2004; Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005; Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Russell & Kuhnert, 1992). Day and Lance (2004) asserted that greater

developmental complexity feeds into more advanced cognitive, social, and behavioral complexities, which then enable leaders to display better leadership skills. Day and Lance's (2004) three-layer model of leadership development (see Figure 2.1) graphically presents the associations among fundamental human development (i.e., growth level), leaders' behavioral, social, and cognitive complexity (i.e., leader complexity level), and the development of leader skills (i.e., leader development level).

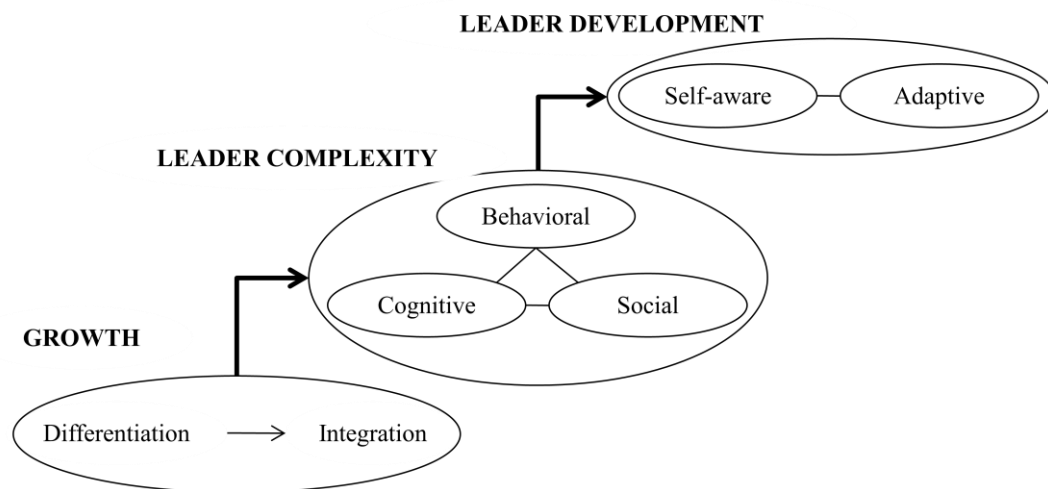


Figure 2.1. Day and Lance (2004)'s Leadership Complexity Model

From Day, D. V., & Lance, C. E. (2004). Understanding the development of leadership complexity through latent growth modeling. In D. V. Day, S. J. Zaccaro & S. M. Halpin (Eds.), *Leader development for transforming organizations: Growing leaders for tomorrow* (pp. 41-69). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, p. 48.

As this figure shows, Day and Lance (2004) identified two core leadership capacities: self-awareness and adaptability. Self-awareness is an important capacity as it involves understanding leaders' own strengths and weaknesses and how these influence themselves as well as others. Adaptability indicates the ability to quickly learn and use new ways of coping with problems that are usually unexpected and unprecedented. Increased levels of leaders' complexity (cognitive,

social, and behavioral) are prerequisite for more complex display of these abilities. For example, leaders who are able to think more complexly (cognitive complexity) are likely to identify a larger number of categories that characterize self, which indicates more complex, broader understanding of self.

Underlying the three dimensions of leader complexities is human developmental growth. Drawing from Robert Kegan (1982, 1994)'s theory of human development (described more in detail later in this chapter), Day and Lance (2004) conceptualize developmental growth as increasing complexities in people's meaning making capabilities – the capacity of understanding of the self, world, and interpersonal relationships. In other words, more complex and advanced levels of one's meaning making leads to increased complexities in cognitive, social, and behavioral leader complexities.

In a similar vein, Eigel and Kuhnert (2005) proposed a model of leadership development level (LDL) and explained how levels of developmental complexity manifest in domains of leadership capacities. The definition of leadership development level is as follows:

LDL is defined as the measurable capacity to understand ourselves, others, and our situations. Each LDL is the total of who we are; how we think about leading others, the way we see and solve problems, and what we know to be important and true. Our capacity to understand is more than the sum of what we know – it is how we know what we know that defines LDL. ... LDL is the lens through which we filter our experiences (p. 369)

LDL comprises five stages that start from birth and continue to evolve throughout one's life. The development of LDL occurs in three general area of human development: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and cognitive domains. Table 2.4 summarizes the development of these three areas

by different leadership development levels. Overall, as leaders move from lower to higher LDLs, they shift from an externally defined to internally grounded understanding of oneself (intrapersonal), from self-focus to other-focus (interpersonal), and from simple to complex ways of solving problems (cognitive) (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005; Harris & Kuhnert, 2008).

Table 2.4.  
*Leadership development level by domains and levels*

	LDL 2	LDL 3	LDL 4	LDL 5
Cognitive	Know and follow the rules	Look for help and seek support	Formulate one's own solution	Higher order values and principles
Intrapersonal	Focusing exclusively on their own needs	Defined by the relationships	Articulate one's own values; develop a vision	Integrating one's own and others vision; critic one's own paradigm
Interpersonal	Commit to winning at all costs; unable to see others' perspectives or consider alternatives	Mend the relationship; empathize and adopt other's perspectives	Authentic interaction; consider various sources to resolve conflicts	Able to walk in others' shoe while considering one's own values; value and learn from the conflicts

From Eigel, K. M., & Kuhnert, K. W. (2005). Authentic development: Leadership development level and executive effectiveness. In W. Gardner, B. Avolio & F. Walumbwa (Eds.), *Authentic leadership theory and practice: Origins, effects and development. Monographs in Leadership and Management* (Vol. 3, pp. 357-385). Oxford: Elsevier.

Of five stages, Eigel and Kuhnert (2005) detailed the levels from 2 to 5, which are particularly related to adult life and development. For example, leaders who operate from LDL 2 exhibits the least sophisticated ways of understanding internal values, relating with others, and seeing the world. They see the world as black or white, cannot see others' perspectives and mostly follow their own needs and interests. LDL 2 leaders thus impose the rules they expect others to follow without thinking that others might have different needs or perspectives.

At LDL 3, leaders are able to see the shades of gray in the world and recognize others' diverse perspectives. Due to this newly acquired capability, LDL3 leaders begin to appreciate external inputs when practicing leadership, and thus actively seek others' supports and help for solving problems. However, overpowered by external influences, LDL3 leaders may not represent their own authentic style of leadership by bending their true intentions based on others' needs (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005).

Leaders at level 4 are capable of formulating and articulating one's own beliefs, values and visions. These beliefs and values are used to evaluate the external inputs; thus, LDL 4 leaders are no longer blindly swayed by external influences. They are also able to behave in a more authentic, consistent way, which may in turn give more credence to followers (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005). Because LDL 4 leaders are able to formulate their own visions, and know the value of external inputs in leadership processes, they tend to adopt a more transforming style of leadership. In other words, LDL 4 leaders are likely to motivate others to pursue the vision through persuading and empowering (i.e., leading in a transforming style) rather than coercing and controlling (Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987).

At LDL 5, the leaders can objectify their beliefs, perspectives, and paradigms of leadership. Instead of holding onto their beliefs, LDL 5 leaders welcome others' criticisms and integrate others' perspectives into theirs. Because the leaders can step outside their paradigmatic box of thinking or behaving, they now can truly walk in others' shoes with more complete understanding of others' situation. This ability to traverse one's own and others' paradigms at the same time makes LDL 5 leaders the most effective in the organizations where leaders have to cope with the demands of diverse followers and evaluate multiple competing organizational strategies (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005).



## **Developmental Models: Leader Identity Development**

While the model of leadership complexity (Day & Lance, 2004) and leadership development levels (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005) center on the development of leaders' mental complexities in order to explain the evolution of leaders' skills and knowledge, another stream of developmental models emphasize "being a leader" (i.e., leader identity) as a fundamental component for developing one's leadership capacity (e.g., Ibarra, Snook, & Ramo, 2008; Komives, Mainella, Longerbeam, Osteen, & Owen, 2006; Lord & Hall, 2005). Assumed in this emphasis is the importance of one's self or identity in human development. Identity refers to the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others (Gecas, 1982; Gergen, 1971). It provides frames of reference by which relevant knowledge is organized and motivational direction is leveraged (Ibarra, et al., 2008; Lord & Hall, 2005). This implies that a person can more readily learn leadership skills and be more motivated for leadership roles once leader identity becomes a salient part of one's self.

A number of business scholars, largely drawn from the literature on career and managerial development, explained leader identity development from the perspective of role transitions and integration (e.g., D. T. Hall, 2004; Ibarra, et al., 2008; Mumford, Marks, Connelly, Zaccaro, & Reiter-Palmon, 2000). Ibarra, Snook, and Ramo (2008) stated that people develop a leader identity through separating from an old role (e.g., follower role), transitioning to a new role (i.e., leader role), and finally incorporating the new role into one's self. Important to this role transitioning process is that one should experience a kind of role discontinuity. In other words, leaders can develop a leader identity when they are put into a leader's position or role, leaving the familiar follower role behind. Similarly, Hall (2004) described leader identity

development as a process of integrating a leader's role into one's self system through gaining experiences in leadership positions and roles.

Developing leader identity is also portrayed as a process of closing gaps between real and ideal (or potential) selves. Boyatzis (2008) stated that leadership development occurs when a person works on his or her real self to match up with the ideal self that reflects the role of leader. The leader identity will be a new real self as the gap between the real and ideal selves is closing through acquiring new behavioral patterns, skills, and knowledge necessary for achieving the ideal self. Helping relations are a critical element in this transition process as they provide supports, encouragements, and role models necessary for learning, testing, and mastering new skills and knowledge (Boyatzis, 2006, 2008).

Another group of scholars has focused on the content of leader identity and describe how changes in the content of one's identity is associated with leadership capacity development (e.g., Komives, Mainella, et al., 2006; Lord & Hall, 2005). Lord and Hall (2005) proposed that a leader identity develops through expanding its focus from the individual to include relational and then collective levels. In other words, the meanings attached to one's identity become more inclusive to represent the demands of others and group memberships as well as one's own interests and needs. They posit that shifts in level of identities occur in parallel with the development of leadership knowledge structures and skills. Table 2.5 summarizes these changes in leadership knowledge and skills across three levels of leader identity.

Table 2.5.

*Leadership Skill Development by Leader Identity Level*

<b>Skill Domain</b>	<b>Novice</b>	<b>Intermediate</b>	<b>Expert</b>
Task	Technical and task skills; Generic decision-making and problem solving	Domain-specific tasks skills; Meta-monitoring capacity	Principled understanding of task and self-regulation
Emotional	Expression	Empathy and understanding of others	Formal principles of emotional regulation
Social	Fit with common sense leadership theories; Understanding of agentic behaviors and social influence tactics	Integration with dyad or group; Communal behaviors; Self-monitoring skill	Capacity to develop others; authentic, principle-based leadership
Meta-cognitive	Largely based on social reactions and task progress; focused within one's own emotional and motivational orientation	Integrated with identities; greater adjustment to others; flexibility in emotional and motivational orientations	Based on formal principles relating identities to value structures; Principled understanding of positive and negative emotions/motivation
Value orientation	Learned and applied implicitly	Integration of identities and values	Principled understanding of value structures and their relation to leadership
Identity content	Individual identity as leader differentiates self from others	Relational or collective identity includes others or group	Value-based identity grounded in abstract principles

From Lord, R. G., & Hall, R. J. (2005). Identity, deep structure and the development of leadership skill. *Leadership Quarterly*, 16(4), p. 605.

To illustrate, novice leaders who have just taken leadership roles (i.e., the first column) strictly differentiate themselves from others who are not leaders according to the conventional understanding of leadership. Because leader identity is not yet grounded in the internally defined meaning of leadership, novice leaders turn to general ways of approaching leadership and encounter most situations in the same way (i.e., task domain).

As leaders gain more experiences in leadership roles, leadership knowledge and skills change from being general to being more context-dependent. Subsequently, intermediate leaders are capable of varying their behavioral and interactional patterns according to the characteristics of followers and a given context. This shift also includes a focus away from the self to include followers' perspectives. With a relational and collective leader identity, intermediate leaders become more sensitive to the needs and the expectations of followers.

With additional experiences to test and refine leadership skills, expert leaders may develop a more principled, contingent capacity that enables them to better read situational cues and enact flexible skills. However, flexibility at this expert stage is distinct from that of the previous stage because the leaders do not abruptly shift their styles in a chameleon-like fashion, but rather assimilate the situational contingencies with their own internal values. This shift to a principled leadership is associated with one's ability to formulate personal identity grounded in internal values and abstract principles (Lord & Hall, 2005).

A group of higher education scholars produced a leader identity development model (LID) based on grounded theory research of college students who are practicing relational leadership (Komives, Mainella, et al., 2006). The LID model consists of six stages, and the achievement of each stage is marked by qualitatively different ways of thinking about leadership and understanding self as a leader. The six stages can be regrouped into three broader steps in terms of the leader's changing view of self with others: dependent phase (stage 1 and 2), independent phase (stage 3), and interdependent relational phase (stage 4, 5, and 6).

Leaders at earlier stages do not have a concrete understanding of themselves as leaders; instead, they perceive leadership external to themselves and look to nationally well-known figures to see leadership. Due to their lack of personal identity as a leader, students are dependent

on others, especially parents, teachers, or elders in religious institutions, for defining leadership abilities and knowledge. Encouraged by adults' affirmation, leaders begin to recognize their own leadership potential and explore group involvements for leadership experiences (Komives, Mainella, et al., 2006; Komives, et al., 2005).

As the leaders gain more experiences in a group and receive positive feedback about their leadership qualities from adults and peers, they are likely committed to a number of leadership roles or positions in the group. The leader at this stage conceptualizes leadership as what positional leaders do and strictly differentiates the leaders' role from that of follower's. In this sense, leadership identity at this stage is largely dependent on the context of one's role in a group. The leader regards oneself as being independent when he or she occupies a leadership position, and feels dependent when in follower roles. Independent leader identity is questioned as the leader has difficulties in delegating and completing tasks. Gradually, relations of interdependence become prominent for leadership relationships (Komives, Mainella, et al., 2006; Komives, et al., 2005).

The later stages are characterized as interdependent leader identity by which the leader recognizes leadership regardless of one's roles in the group. The leader now knows that every member can exhibit his or her leadership by active involvement and commitment, and will become interested in empowering others for better leadership capacities. Dissociating leadership from a certain position or role contributes to integrating leader identity into one's self because leadership is conceived as what one can do on daily bases rather than what a designated leader specifically does (Komives, Mainella, et al., 2006; Komives, et al., 2005).

## **Summary and Synthesis of Leadership Education and Development Models**

Many scholars have proposed a number of leadership development models. Some of them are oriented toward identifying and describing leadership skills and knowledge required for leadership while others describe leadership development in relation to human development, and show the core element of leadership development which then manifests in leaders' skills and knowledge.

Leadership capacity models emphasize that leadership capacities are multidimensional and comprehensive, not only including individual-level capacities such as cognitive skills and intrapersonal qualities, but also encompassing interpersonal/group-level and social/organizational-level capacities like interpersonal and social competences, a sense of social responsibility, and socially desirable values and beliefs. These models suggest that leaders may require more than simply doing certain behaviors; they need to embody socially-desirable values which are the purposes of leadership. As such, leadership development indicates not just skill training, but relates to educating and developing more fundamental capacities and values of people.

A review of developmental models highlights that enhancing leadership skills is related to the fundamental changes occurring in leaders' identity or mental complexity. Figure 2.2 summarizes the relationships between leader complexity, leadership skills, and leadership experiences. The arrow at the bottom represents the evolution of leaders' mental complexity; it shifts from externally defined, less complex organizations of meaning to internally grounded, more complex ways of understanding the world, self, and the relationships. Similarly, leaders come to have more complex understanding about leader roles and self as a leader; compared to the novice leaders who conceptualized leader roles according to the general definitions of

leadership (e.g., charismatic leader), expert leaders are able to think and practice their own styles of leadership based on their internal belief and life principles. As leaders move along these continuums of leader complexity or identity, their execution of leadership skills become more nuanced and principled. Overall, the claim of these developmental models is that the enhancement of leadership skills is tied to the deeper-level human development (e.g., developmental complexity, identity development).

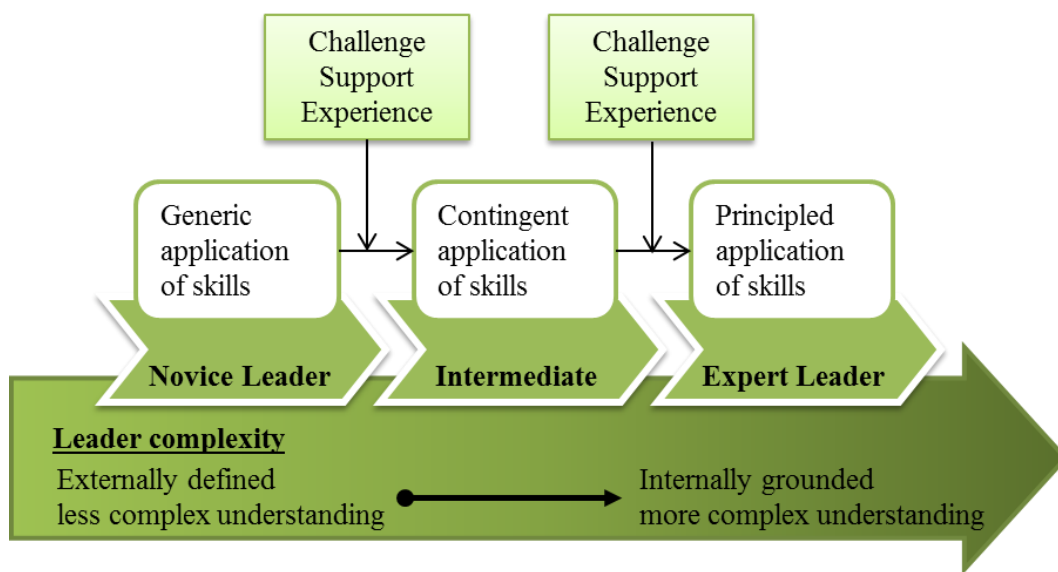


Figure 2.2. Synthesis of developmental models

Next, the review of leadership development models highlights a number of necessary conditions in which developmental shifts occur. This is also represented in Figure 2.2. In leader identity development models, supportive relationships (e.g., mentorship, coaching), group involvement, and stretch environments/challenging tasks (e.g., role transition, assigning challenging tasks) play important roles in shifting one's identity to more complex, expert leader identity. In leader complexity development models, it is assumed that more nuanced execution of

leadership skills is related to more advanced developmental capacity. That is, leaders may require a certain level of developmental capacity for performing leadership skills in a sophisticated way. To summarize, leadership development may occur as leaders go through many different experiences (e.g., mentorship, challenging tasks) and acquire more advanced developmental capacity.

### **College Student Learning and Development**

Developing leadership capacities, as is described in the previous section, occurs in the context of many different leadership experiences as well as in the continuum of life-span human development. What are the implications of these contexts for college student leadership development? To address this question, I examine two strands of studies related to college students' learning and development: college student development studies and college impact studies. College impact studies examine the educational conditions and students' collegiate experiences relevant to students learning and growth (Astin, 1993; Kuh, 1995; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991) while studies of college student development illuminate "the dimensions and structure of growth in college students and to explain the dynamics by which that growth occurs" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, p. 18). Consequently, the student development literature features students' developmental trajectories and help identify individual differences in this developmental continuum that affect their leadership development. By contrast, college impact research focuses on a range of experiences, conditions, and practices associated with students' leadership development.

### **Constructive-Developmental Theories**

Developmental capacity is warranted for mature leadership capacities (Avolio & Hannah, 2008; Ibarra, Snook, & Ramo, 2008; McCauley, Drath, Palus, O'Connor, & Baker, 2006; Russell



& Kuhnert, 1992). Among many theoretical perspectives about human development, constructive developmental theories are compelling for understanding leadership development because they highlight the level of development required for performing a certain quality of leadership skills, competencies, and knowledge (e.g., Day & Lance, 2004; Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005; Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; McCauley, et al., 2006; Russell & Kuhnert, 1992).

Constructive-developmental theories comprise psychological theories that describe the development of meaning-making structures across the lifespan. Grounded in the works of John Dewey (1933), Jean Piaget (1954), and Lev Vygotsky (1978) among others, the theories are *constructive* in the sense that they attend to a person's subjective constructions of reality or how a person understands an experience. They are also *developmental* in the sense that they are concerned with regularities in the underlying structure of what is manifested overtly (e.g., decision making, justifying the claims, interpreting experiences) (Kegan, 1982).

A number of scholars have proposed constructive-developmental adult development theories. For example, Perry's (1970) scheme of intellectual and ethical development, Kohlberg's (1969) model of moral reasoning and development, Belenkey, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's (1997) work on women's ways of knowing, Baxter Magolda's (1992, 2004) constructivist conceptualization of epistemological reflection, and King and Kitchener(1994)'s reflective judgment model exemplify the constructive-developmental theories that are frequently applied to college student development studies. These theories all highlight the sequence of stages or positions that describes evolutions of more complex internal structures related to epistemological assumptions, knowing oneself in relation to others, intellectual reasoning, and making ethical judgments.

Divergent in terms of developmental domains and the number of developmental steps each theory describes, the constructive-developmental approaches converge in terms of three broad phases through which people develop more complex epistemological structures. Love and Guthrie (1999) named each of these three developmental phases as unequivocal knowing, radical subjectivism, and generative knowing. The phase of unequivocal knowing characterizes early stages in which knowledge is viewed as having a single, universal truth, formula, or solution. People who operate from this stage think they can unequivocally know this single truth. Blinded by this dogma, they do not recognize alternative views of what they believe to be truth. Radical subjectivism depicts the intermediate stages, and indicates the breakdown of absolutism in knowing and meaning making. At this phase, people recognize ambiguity, complexity, and uncertainty in knowing and meaning-making. This awareness leads them to go beyond the dualistic view of knowledge and to adopt that all views are equally valid.

The later stages are characterized of generative knowing, which shares a conception of “the knower coming into a sense of agency in the knowing process” (Love & Guthrie, 1999, p. 80). In other words, people recognize their power to decide, formulate, generate, or author their own knowledge, truth, or beliefs with the ability to acknowledge, evaluate, and validate external sources. However, unlike the previous phases, generative knowing diverges somewhat based on individual authors’ focus on differential aspects of human development (Love & Guthrie, 1999). For example, Perry (1970) changed the emphasis from intellectual to ethical development at the later positions because he considered the (ethical) commitment in the midst of relativism as the paramount signal of mature development. King and Kitchener (1994) expanded Perry’s work, and elaborated structural and epistemological aspects beyond Perry’s relativism where he shifted from intellectual to ethical development.

## **Kegan's Theory and Self-authorship**

Among many constructive-developmental theories, Kegan's theory of adult development merits more discussion because it is not only widely applied for conceptualizing leadership development (e.g., Day & Lance, 2004; Day & O'Connor, 2001; Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005; Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Kegan & Lahey, 1984; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; McCauley, et al., 2006; Russell & Kuhnert, 1992), but has also been used among higher education scholars who are attempting to explain student development in a holistic manner (e.g., King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). His theory is distinctive from other constructive-developmental theories as it holistically integrates various domains of human development (i.e., cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal) centering around the evolution of meaning-making structures. Of six development stages (stage 0 through stage 5) proposed by Kegan (1982, 1994), the transition from the third to the fourth order is cited as particularly important to the development of college students. This transition is reported to occur during young adulthood, and is required to meet many demands placed on adults in contemporary society (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Kegan, 1994; Kegan & Lahey, 1984). Among many leadership scholars, this is the level of capacity that differentiates the lower and the higher levels leadership abilities (Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; McCauley, Drath, Palus, O'Connor, & Baker, 2006).

At the core of the transition from the third to the fourth order of consciousness lies the emergence of self-authorship, the mature capacity to take responsibility for one's life (Kegan, 1994). The concept is further elaborated by Baxter Magolda as "the ability to reflect upon one's beliefs, organize one's thoughts and feelings in the contexts of, but separate from, the thoughts and feelings of others, and literally make up one's mind" (Baxter Magolda, 1999, p. 143). Baxter Magolda also identified three elements of self-authorship based on her 20-year longitudinal study

of 101 first year college students. These elements are trusting the internal voice, building an internal foundation, and securing internal commitment (Baxter Magolda, 2008). Considered together, self-authorship is not just about internal thinking processes; it indicates the mature capacity to define and act on one's values.

Baxter Magolda's longitudinal study also contributed to identifying four phases of developmental steps that young adults took to reach self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2004). Table 5 describes how the journey to self-authorship unfolds in the three domains of development along the four phases: following formulas, crossroads, becoming the author of one's life, and internal foundation. In addition to the constructive developmental pattern of increasing complexity in one's meaning making system, these phases show the importance of experiencing dilemmas and testing one's beliefs as key factors affecting the development of self-authorship.

Table 2.6.  
*Four Phases of the Journey toward Self-Authorship*

	Following Formulas	Crossroads	Becoming the author of life	Internal foundation
Epistemological dimension: how do I know?	Believe authority's plans; how "you" know	Question plans; see need for own vision	Choose own belief; how "I" know in context of external knowledge claims	Grounded in internal belief system
Intrapersonal dimension: who am I?	Define self through external others	Realize dilemma of external definition; see need for internal identity	Choose own values; identity in context of external forces	Grounded in internal coherent sense of self
Interpersonal dimension: what relationships do I have with others?	Act in relationships to acquire approval	Realize dilemma of focusing on external approval; see need to bring self to relationship	Act in relationships to be true to self; mutually negotiating how needs are met	Grounded in mutuality

From Baxter Magolda (2004). *Making Their Own Way: Narratives for transforming higher education to promote self-development*, Sterling, VA: Stylus, p. 40.

## **Self-authorship and Leadership Development**

A number of studies explored the connections between leaders' developmental stages and leadership capacities, affirming that there is a relationship between the two (Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005; Kegan & Lahey, 1984; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987). For example, Kegan and Lahey (1984) proposed that leaders at the third order are mostly concerned with being connected to and getting recognition from others. To these leaders, effective leadership requires adapting to others' needs and not receiving negative evaluations from others. Consumed by meeting the external demands, these leaders are likely to experience delegation problems and may not act authentically. In contrast, the leaders at the fourth order are able to set their own rules or select principles to judge situations or relationships. Accordingly, they consider good leadership to be what is more aligned with their internal beliefs, which in turn promotes more authentic ways of leading and interacting with others.

Transformational leadership has been proven to be more effective than transactional leadership (Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Kuhnert and Lewis (1987) suggested that the differences between transactional and transformational leaders are due in part to their different levels of development. Transactional leaders rely on a relationship of mutual exchange, obligation, and contingent rewards. These ways of enacting leadership appear to be prevalent among those individuals who are in the third order and are under the strong hold of interpersonal relationships. Transformational leaders rely on a personal value system to motivate their followers and themselves. This way of enacting leadership is most congruent with the fourth order in which people can define their own values and identities.

These hypothesized relationships between leadership capacities and human development stages have been empirically tested. In a study of 32 college students enrolled at a military

college, Lucius and Kuhnert (1999) found high correlations between cadets' scores on the Defining Issues Test of moral judgment (insert citation) and peer ratings of their leadership skills. They concluded that highly developed cadets were better equipped to meet the needs and expectations of their followers, as well as accomplish the goals they set out to achieve

A longitudinal study was conducted to examine the relationships between military cadets' development and their leadership effectiveness through administering a constructive-developmental interviews and a multi-rater leadership survey which measures leaders' ability by assessing perceptions of supervisors, followers, and peers (Bartone, et al., 2007). The findings from the study revealed a clear forward trend in cadets' developmental trajectory to the achievement of self-authorship over four years at college. For example, the percent of cadets who scored at the transitional phase of self-authorship (i.e., between the third and the fourth order) increased from 0% as first-year students to 19% at their senior year. Furthermore, growth in development level correlated positively with global leadership performance ratings assessed by peers and followers. Considered together, this indicates that college education contributed to students' development, which is then related to students' effective leadership behaviors. However, the results also imply that the pace of achieving self-authorship among college students is rather slow, and more endeavors may be needed to foster students' self-authorship development, which is a necessary component for effective leadership.

Harris and Kuhnert (2008) focused on an older population to examine the link between developmental levels and leadership effectiveness. Administering constructive-developmental interviews and 360-degree leadership surveys with 74 executives participating in a developmental program, the study showed that individuals enacting leadership from higher levels of development (i.e., the fourth and the fifth orders) are more effective than those who operated

in the third order in a number of leadership competences, including leading change, managing follower's performance, creating a compelling vision, and inspiring commitment).

### **Leadership Development of Female Students**

Several studies have explored the intersections of gender and developmental capacity among female students. For example, in an attempt to directly apply Kegan's constructive developmental theory to female undergraduate students' leadership development, Spillet (1995) adopted constructive-developmental interviews to measure self-authorship, and reported that female leaders operating with the third order of consciousness encountered difficulties in delegating tasks to members, expressing disagreements to others, and negotiating their relationships with college authorities for fear of others' negative evaluation of their leadership. However, these developmental difficulties, generated from relational concerns, eased off once female student leaders achieved the self-authorship. Less worried about external evaluation but more concerned with fulfilling internal standards, these leaders in their fourth order held members accountable for tasks, expressed their candid thoughts to others with civility, and negotiated performance standards with others (Spillett, 1995).

Similarly, literature on women's leadership development identified relational concerns as a major internal barrier to producing leadership aspirations among women (Boatwright & Egidio, 2003; Lips, 2000). The existence of women's relational focus is also supported by a number of adult development theories as well as a few empirical studies that presented female-related pattern as more concerned with communion with others than achieving agency (Baxter Magolda, 1992, 2001; Belenky, et al., 1997; Creamer & Laughlin, 2005; Gilligan, 1982; Straub & Rodgers, 1986). Previous studies have emphasized self-efficacy or self-confidence, a sort of internal power that affirms one's ability to do a certain domain task; they have found that this internal

power is a factor for moderating the detrimental effect of women's relational concerns on leadership aspirations (Boatwright & Egidio, 2003; Dickerson & Taylor, 2000; Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007). Women's strong confidence in and positive attitudes toward leadership are reported to undercut the effects of male-typed leader role stereotypes that penalized women for not representing male traits. Kolb (1999) found that, even though male-typed leader role traits are often a strong predictor of leader emergence, women who more strongly and confidently identified themselves with leader roles were more likely to become group leaders regardless of which gender-typed traits (e.g., feminine) they display to the members.

### **Summary and Discussion of College Student Development Studies**

The previous section reviewed studies that explained college student development, as it relates to student leadership development. Among many student development theories and studies, the review focused on the theories of constructive-developmental theories (Kegan's theory of self-authorship in particular) and their applications to student leadership development. Literature on college student development highlighted the importance of achieving self-authorship among college students for successful adulthood (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Kegan, 1994) as well as effective leadership (Bartone, et al., 2007; L. S. Harris & Kuhnert, 2008; Kegan & Lahey, 1984; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; Lucius & Kuhnert, 1999; McCauley, et al., 2006). However, the review also revealed that the empirical studies that tested the connections between developmental capacity and student leadership are still rare, which limits our understanding of the complex intertwining between the two. Another limitation of the existing literature comes from their lack of attention to other individual characteristics when studying the connections between developmental capacity and leadership. Glimpsed from a few existing studies (e.g., Spillett, 1995), factors such as gender affect the patterns of how people's developmental capacity



interconnects to leadership capacities. For example, female students with lower developmental capacity may have more difficulties in developing interpersonal skills compared to female students with higher developmental capacity, while these patterns may not emerge from male students' leadership development. However, to my best knowledge, there has been no study that examined gendered patterns in the relationships between self-authorship capacity and leadership development.

The review of college student development studies shows that development is a longitudinal process, and certain types of experiences (e.g., experiencing dilemmas) affect the shift from one level to the next (Baxter Magolda, 2001). However, the existing studies that connect students' developmental capacity to leadership development do not yet explore how and which types of experiences are tied to the development of leadership and/or self-authorship. It is possible that not all the experiences promote the two; some experiences are effective for skill learning while others may have implications for one's developmental shifts. Therefore, future studies may need to explore how and what experiences impact leadership and/or self-authorship development in order to provide implications for educational interventions.

### **The Impact of College on Student Leadership Development**

College education has life-enduring impacts on students' learning and development by providing opportunities of diverse experiences (e.g., courses, diverse peer interactions). College impact is often studied with the Input-Environment-Output (I-E-O) model, which was proposed by Alexander Astin (1984) for isolating the impact of college on student outcomes, separating it from the confounding effects of students' incoming characteristics, such as academic achievement and prior college experiences (Astin, 1984, 1993). Student involvement fits into this model as an intermediate outcome situated between the Environment (E) and the Outcome (O).

In other words, the model presumes that student learning and development (i.e., the outcome) occurs when students invest time and energy (i.e., involvement) in the resources provided by the college (i.e., the environment). Studies that are grounded in the I-E-O model of college impact assessment typically measure college involvement with students' time and commitment spent on various college activities as well as perceptions of college resources (e.g., satisfaction). These involvement measures are then regressed on a number of college learning outcome measures such as critical thinking, social self-efficacy, writing and quantitative skills.

A number of college environment and involvement factors are reported to be associated with leadership outcomes: gender-composition of colleges (Smith, 1990; Smith, et al., 1994; Smith, Wolf, & Morrison, 1995; Wolf-Wendel, 2000), campus climate and culture, involvement in peer interactions, participation in co- and extra- curricular activities, formal leadership education, and service learning. These are each discussed in more detail in the following section.

### **Single-Sex Education**

Gender composition of an institution is an important factor and condition that is particularly relevant to female college students' leadership development (Smith, 1990; Smith, et al., 1994; Smith, Wolf, & Morrison, 1995; Wolf-Wendel, 2000). Most of the studies focusing on gender composition of an institution make comparisons between women's colleges and coeducational colleges. The findings from a number of comparative studies showed that women at single-sex institutions were more satisfied with their college experiences, were more engaged in educational practices promoting positive learning outcomes (e.g., leadership, academic achievement), and reported higher levels of feelings of support than those enrolled at co-educational colleges. In addition, students at women's colleges were more likely to perceive positive changes in skills and abilities (e.g., academic skills, job-related skills, social self-

confidence) and have higher educational aspirations as well as attainments, compared to coeducational college women (Kim, 2001; Kim & Alvarez, 1995; Kinzie, Thomas, Palmer, Umbach, & Kuh, 2007; Smith, 1990). Female students at single-sex institutions also displayed socially desirable traits such as activism, tolerance, and altruism more than coeducational female students (Kim, 2001).

Seeing the positive impact of single-sex institutions on women students' development and learning, scholars attempted to identify what produced these differences. The initial attempts mostly focused on the educational contexts and practices of women's colleges, and attempted to parcel out the distinctive characteristics of what women's colleges collectively did for their students' success. For example, Whitt (1994) conducted interviews with 200 female students from three women's colleges, and found that high expectations for student achievement, female leader models, extensive opportunities for developing and practicing leadership skills, and college missions focused on women's education were the critical environmental elements that had the greatest impact on women's leadership development. Findings from a study conducted by Smith, Wolf, & Morrison (1994) echoed the importance of supportive environment, particularly for promoting the development of women students as leaders. They examined how women students perceived their single-sex institutional culture, and found that single-sex institutions represented a culture of caring, support, and multiculturalism, and were seriously concerned with women's success and promoting civic involvement.

In a more recent study conducted by Wolf-Wendel (2000), three higher education institutions that granted a relatively larger proportion of undergraduate degrees to women than to men were purposively selected for identifying campus constituencies that may facilitate the success of women students. After conducting intensive case-studies, she found that women-

friendly campuses had an academic ethos that had high academic expectations for women, had a clear sense of mission and history focused on women, provided positive role models, created a caring, supportive environment, provided opportunities for leadership, provided opportunities to learn about oneself, created a supportive and high-achieving peer culture, and connected students to their communities. Furthermore, Wolf-Wendel asserted that this friendly ethos was mainly due to visibility of women and supportive network of students and faculty members.

### **Campus Climate and Culture**

Another stream of research explored a different side of college environments in relation to college students' learning and development of leadership capacities; this is often represented as "chilly climate" studies. Specifically related to female students' development and learning, the concept of a "chilly climate" was first introduced by Hall and Sandler (1982) and refers to the negative, unfavorable educational atmosphere women students may experience when they interact with faculty and peers within or outside the classroom. Women students may feel "chilly" effects on college campus when they experience sexist jokes, derogative comments on women's abilities, less eye contact, fewer follow-up questions, and other covert dismissal behavior by professors or male students (Allan & Madden, 2006; Pascarella et al., 1997; Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1999). Chilly climate has been found to undermine women's learning and development. For example, a study conducted by Pacarella, Whitt, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, Yeager, and Terenzini (1997) found a negative relationship between perceived chilly climate and students' reported gains in career preparation among first-year college women. In a follow-up study, a group of scholars also found a negative impact of perceived chilly climate on women's development, which continued beyond their first years to the third year. To illustrate, third-year female students who perceived more chilliness in their

college climate reported larger declines in four of five cognitive outcomes (i.e., writing and thinking skills, understanding science, career preparation, understanding the arts and humanities) compared to those who felt the climate was more supportive.

While the earlier studies of chilly climate reported overall negative effects of chilly climate on women's development and learning, some more recent studies provided either mixed or no evidence of a chilly climate for women, and attributed gendered perceptions of college climate to other factors, such as a misfit between students' preferred learning style and dominant instructional methods (Salter, 2003). Other studies claim this change is accounted for by methodological differences in measuring students' perception of chilly climate (Allan & Madden, 2006; Brady & Eisler, 1995). Responding to this claim, Allan & Madden (2006) adopted a mixed methods approach, and provided updated evidence about chilly climate for women on co-educational campuses. Interestingly, their findings from the mixed methods study are somewhat inconsistent. The results from quantitative data suggested that no significant gender bias was present on campus, whereas qualitative findings provided evidence that chilly climate was still evident, manifested as discouragement, questioning women's competence, and defining women by their sexuality. Despite the inconsistencies, chilly climate studies provide evidence that students' perception of college climate and culture factored into their learning and development.

Somewhat in parallel with chilly climate studies, emerging research about college men's identity development began to document how college men perceived the college environment, and experienced college education (e.g., Edwards & Jones, 2009; F. Harris & Edwards, 2010). Drawn from the feminist scholarship that views gender as a social construction, scholars argued that college men, just like college women, are under the influence of hegemonic conception of gender roles, gendered attributes and power relationships. Since the traditional dominant norms

of masculinity in western culture is defined and reinforced by misogyny and homophobia (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986), men's gender socialization fosters avoiding emotional expression for fear of appearing to be feminine, as well as engaging in more problematic behaviors (e.g., alcohol abuse and academic negligence) in order to act manly (Capraro, 2004; Harper, Harris, & Mmeje, 2005; Sax, 2008).

Harris (2010) conducted a series of focus groups and 12 in-depth interviews with diverse college men; he found that meanings of masculinities encompassed being respected, being confident, assuming responsibility, and embodying physical prowess. These meanings of masculinities conformed to stereotypical masculine role descriptions, and served to privilege men who perform masculinities according to culturally dominant expectations. These meanings of masculinities were expressed, reinforced, or adjusted to produce masculine gendered norms on college campus through interacting with other contextual factors such as precollege gender socialization, and male peer group interactions. In this study, the campus culture was described in a multiple ways, providing evidence that college campuses were differently perceived by male students and might yield differential influences on students' learning and development. Students' varied descriptions of their campus include diverse, patriarchal, and competitive cultures. Participants who perceived their college context as diverse stated that they were allowed to express a wide range of masculinities that was not limited to traditional gender norms or expectations. In comparison, those who perceived a patriarchal or competitive culture on campus emphasized traditional norms of masculinity (i.e., being in good physical shape, being competitive for status, attention, and popularity, consuming alcohol). In summary, the emerging research on college men suggests that there might be masculine versions of "chilly climate" or campus culture which in turn formulates college men's leadership behaviors and attitudes.

## **Interpersonal Interactions**

Interpersonal interactions indicate diverse types of relationships a student may have on campus. Astin (1993) reported that peer-interaction had the strongest positive impact, whereas interaction with faculty who heavily attended to research had the most detrimental effect on students' leadership development, which is measured by students' self-reports of their social confidence, leadership abilities, and public speaking skills. More recent studies replicated the effects of peer and faculty interaction on college students' leadership development. Thompson (2006) analyzed the multi-institutional sample of 456 undergraduate students and measured student leadership with Wielkiewicz (2000)'s Leadership Attitudes and Belief Scale III (LABS-III). The LABS-III measures how students think about leadership irrespective of their perceived experiences in predispositions to leadership based-activities or positions (Wielkiewicz, 2000). The result showed a strong positive influence of campus-wide interactions (i.e., peer involvement, and quality advising and/or mentoring with faculty) on students' leadership values and attitudes. Antonio (2001) also highlighted the importance of peer interaction on the development of students' leadership skills which were measured by students' self-reported leadership ability, social confidence, and public speaking skills. His study is distinctive in that he focused on interracial relationships rather than overall peer interactions on college campuses. Antonio (2000)'s findings indicated that frequent interaction with diverse peers was most influential to developing leadership skill of those who had more homogeneous friendship circles.

A group of scholars has focused on differential effects of student-faculty interaction on student attitude and learning based on students' gender (e.g., Kim & Sax, 2009; Sax, Bryant, & Harper, 2005). Despite many shared positive effects of student-faculty interaction (e.g., positive self-concept, increased educational aspiration, increased commitment to social activism,

improvement of leadership skills), the benefits were greater for men than for women. For example, the study conducted by Sax, Bryant, and Harper (2005) found that frequently talking with faculty outside the class related to gains in cultural awareness, liberal political views, and increased commitment to promoting racial understanding among men only. The findings also suggested that faculty-interaction promoted male students' egalitarian views about gender, whereas women students were more likely to have traditional gender role conceptions when they have more frequent interaction with faculty.

Relevant to these differential effects of faculty-interaction on female and male college students' development, a handful of studies have pointed to the importance of same gender role models for developing women's leadership qualities (Astin, 1991; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Lockwood, 2006; Reichard, 2006; Romano, 1996). Astin and Leland (1991) emphasized that women leaders in their study identified strong female role models as a critical factor for their rise to the leadership roles and positions. Similarly, Romano (1996)'s study of fifteen female college students who were previously or currently holding leadership positions revealed that strong women role models impacted these students' motivation and desire to be a leader and serve others.

Same gender role models influence college women through positively changing their self-confidence and attitudes. Using an experimental study with 48 female and 39 male college students, Lockwood (2006) found that women students rated their career-related competences higher when they read an article about highly successful alumnae, compared to reading about equivalent male role models. In contrast, male students' ratings of their abilities did not differ whether they read about male or female role models, or did not read anything. Similarly, female



role models positively affect women's career and major choice (i.e., math or science) (Bettinger & Long, 2005; Canes & Rosen, 1995; Sax & Bryant, 2006).

Not only did gender matching matter, but the images that the role models give to women students also make a difference. An experimental study by Dasgupta and Asgari (2004) showed that images of counter-stereotypic female leaders significantly diminished automated internal stereotypes, which unconsciously associated women more with supportive roles than leader roles, thus undermining women's aspirations for leadership. The impact of gender-matched, counter-stereotypic, leader role models is even prominent in the most disadvantageous situation where female leaders with high agentic traits conducted male-typed tasks with male peers. Carbonell and Castro (2008)'s study showed that high dominant women were more likely to take on the leadership roles in a mixed-sex dyad when they were presented with a female leader role model than when they were exposed to a male leader model.

### **Co- and Extra-Curricular Involvements**

Involvement in a variety of co-and extra- curricular activities comprises critical experiences that promoted student leadership development. Dugan (2006b)'s study of 912 undergraduate students from a single institution revealed that involvement in community service, taking positional leadership roles, student organization membership, and leadership education had impacts on students self-reported leadership capacities for social change leadership. Particularly, community service involvement stood out as influencing most of the capacities for social change leadership, which suggested that among many types of students' involvement, service learning had higher potential to promote students' social change leadership capabilities. Other types of involvement such as positional leadership, participation in campus organizations and formal leadership programs had a positive but limited impact on college students' leadership

enhancement; they were only associated with group or societal level leadership values (e.g., collaboration, common purpose, and citizenship).

Another body of literature focuses on students' leadership experiences for promoting students' leadership outcomes. In a study by Romano (1996), fifteen undergraduate women were interviewed to explore their personal characteristics, leadership styles, and what they experienced and learned as a leader. In addition to highlighting the substantial influence of strong women as role models and women's nonhierarchical, interactive styles of leadership, these women reported that they became more self-confident, vocal, and assertive as a result of their leadership experience.

Logue, Hutchens, & Hector (2005) conducted a series of in-depth interviews with six college students and examined how they perceived their leadership experiences. Students described that their positional leadership experience gave them opportunities to work with others, work toward the accomplishment of goals, and become more aware of organizational dynamics. These students also positively described leadership experiences as providing enjoyment, developmental opportunities and personal benefits. Positional leadership experiences in campus recreation sports organizations were examined in the study by Hall, Forrester and Borsz (2008). They also conducted interviews with 21 college students, and showed that college students learned many valuable leadership skills (e.g., communication skills, delegating, problem solving, giving and receiving feedback, etc) through positional leadership experiences. In sum, taking leadership roles and being involved in various student organizations can promote students' leadership skills and abilities.

Kezar and Moriarty (2000)'s study explored the influences of numerous co-curricular involvements (e.g., positional leadership, membership in student organizations) across diverse

groups of students. They reported that involvement in positional leadership roles was the strongest extra-curricular predictor of leadership ability for White men, and was significant for African American women as well. Conversely, non-positional leadership experiences were significant predictors for White women and African American men. Volunteering was the only significant predictor for African American men, whereas White women benefited most from active membership in student organizations. These complex results of Kezar and Moriarty's study suggest that college involvement differentially influences leadership development based on students' social identities.

### **Leadership Education, Training, and Interventions**

Formal education and training are valuable sources for student leadership development (Cress, et al., 2001; Zimmerman-Oster & Burkhardt, 1999). Leadership training or education refers to a wide range of educational interventions targeted at promoting students' leadership skills and abilities. These programs take multiple formats such as seminars, workshops, guest speakers, service learning, leadership major/minor, and outdoor activities (Zimmerman-Oster & Burkhardt, 1999). In general, these studies suggested that such programs not only promoted individual-level students' leadership outcomes (e.g., self-understanding, commitment to civic responsibility, leadership skills), but also produced institution-level outcomes such as increased institutional collaboration and networking, improvement of institutional image, and improvement of communication across ethnic groups on campus (Bandura, Millard, Peluso, & Ortman, 2000; Cross, Astin, Zimmerman-Oster, & Burkhardt, 2001; Zimmerman-Oster & Burkhardt, 1999).

Among many leadership training or education programs, service learning has gained attention over the years, as it has been proven to have strong impact on promoting students' citizenship, leadership, and multicultural effectiveness (Astin & Sax, 1998; Einfeld & Collins,

2008). Service learning refers to a form of experiential education in which students engage in community service activities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development, and is often conducted in conjunction with enrollment in a course. Research on service learning suggested that students gained increased civic responsibility, acquired life and social skills, and developed multicultural competence (Astin & Sax, 1998; Einfeld & Collins, 2008). These skills and knowledge are all core components of leadership capacities; particularly, they are closely related to group and social level leadership capacities.

### **Summary and Discussion of College Impact Studies**

This section reviewed a body of college impact studies related to college student leadership development. The existing literature showed that collegiate experiences have positive impacts on college student leadership development. Among others, some college experiences are frequently studied in relation to students' leadership development; they are faculty interactions, peer-interactions, group involvement, positional leadership experiences, formal leadership education, and service learning. Previous studies have documented that more engagement in these types of experiences is likely to improve students' leadership skills and knowledge. Previous literature has also showed that differences in the college environment are related to student leadership development. Research on women's colleges, chilly climate, and male students' identity development has shown that supportive and diverse environments positively influence students' learning and development.

There are, however, several limitations in previous research that need to be addressed in future studies. First, the review of college impact research illustrates some of the challenges inherent in conceptualizing and measuring college student leadership capacities. Until recently, few studies have been grounded in theories of college student leadership development. Although

college students are frequently studied population with regard to leadership, leadership theories and the models tested on them were largely developed for other population (e.g., working adults), and are not appropriate for explaining college student leadership development because of the differences in educational contexts (Rost & Barker, 2000). Subsequently, earlier studies of college impact on student leadership development, conducted between 1980 and 1990, mostly focused on positional leadership experiences (e.g., Romano, 1996), and measured students' leadership capacities somewhat indirectly by assessing relevant skills and qualities such as social self-confidence and public-speaking skills (e.g., Astin, 1993). Since 2000, there have been many endeavors to develop theoretical models for college student leadership development. Subsequently, recently conducted studies tend to use measures of leadership capacities that are developed for and tested on college students. For example, Dugan (2006b) adopted Socially Responsible Leadership Scales that were grounded in Astin (1996)'s Social Change Model of Leadership, and Thompson (2006) used the Leadership Attitudes and Beliefs Scales that were developed by Wielkiewicz (2000) to examine college students' thinking and beliefs about leadership. Due to these multiple ways to conceptualize and measure student leadership, it is challenging to interpret and synthesize the findings of previous studies about college student leadership development.

Second, the studies reviewed here do not explain how college students' experiences lead to leadership development. That is, they tested the effects of participating in various types of educational experiences on leadership development, but did not examine or attempt to describe how and why those experiences made a difference in students' learning. Theory building about the processes of student learning is essential in future scholarly work.

Another limitation of previous studies is their insufficient consideration of individual students' developmental capacity. Despite the mounting evidence that one's mature ability to organize one's thoughts, identity, and relationships is essential for effectively fulfilling complex social tasks such as leadership (e.g., Kegan & Lahey, 1984; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; Lucius & Kuhnert, 1999), higher education research on leadership has not sufficiently taken students' developmental capacity into account. Students with mature capacities (Kegan, 1994; Baxter Magolda, 2001) experience and perceive educational contexts differently than their less mature peers (King, Baxter magolda, Barber, Kendall Brown, & Linsay, 2009; King, Baxter Magolda, & Masse, in press). In other words, inadequate consideration of students' developmental capacity may fail to address individual needs for educational intervention and hinder implementing effective programs. Future studies may add invaluable knowledge by bringing a developmental lens to college student leadership research.

Even with substantial research documenting gender differences in educational experiences and learning outcomes (Allan & Madden, 2006; Pascarella, et al., 1997; Sax, 2008; Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1999), previous studies have not sufficiently attended to gender as a factor that may moderate the effects of college experiences on learning outcomes. Many existing studies used female student samples (e.g., Romano, 1996; Whitt, 1994) to explore the effect of gender on leadership development. Although these previous studies provided rich descriptions of how women students navigated a range of college experiences to become leaders, they did not explain whether female and male students differently experience college and learn skills, values and attitudes for leadership. In addition, previous studies did not sufficiently pay attention to college men's experiences and perceptions, and how they learn and

develop from these experiences. To address this, future studies are needed to directly compare women's and men's collegiate experiences and learning outcomes.

### **Gender and Leadership Development**

Gender has long been studied as a critical factor that affects a person's leadership development by differently shaping the contexts of development based on one's gender (Bass, 1990; Carli & Eagly, 1999; Eagly, 1987, 2005, 2007; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Kolb, 1999; Sax, 2008). As was described in the previous chapter, college experiences differently influenced college students' learning and development based on students' gender. Thus, it merits reviewing the literature of gender and leadership development in order to examine how gender affects experiences, and thereby shapes leadership development.

As used here, gender does not indicate biological differences between men and women, but denotes shared beliefs or assumptions about what members of one group (i.e., men or women) are like and how they should act in a general manner (Bakan, 1966). Masculinity is stereotypically associated with agentic traits, which are characterized primarily as confident, aggressive, controlling, and directing (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989). In contrast, feminine traits are stereotypically described as communal and linked to traits such as kindness, concern for others, warmth, and gentleness. Other valued skills or abilities in the society are also stereotypically ascribed to either gender: masculine-typed skills or abilities include thinking logically, speaking assertively, directing others, and competing for attention, whereas feminine skills are related to those skills or actions such as supporting others, accepting others' directions, solving interpersonal problems, and expressing emotions (Bass, 1990).

Gender also accords differential status and power to the members of each group by associating gendered attributes and roles with either higher or lower status (Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch, 1977; Ridgeway, 2001). Originating from historically preserved divisions of labor, lower status has been ascribed to women who often worked in less valued, unpaid labor, such as domestic work and childcare. To justify differential statuses, feminine qualities and roles tend to be valued less than masculine, and the higher status group is, in general, expected to possess greater competence and skills that are most valued by the society at that time. In other words, what men possess and represent in the society is often considered as normative, and thus given more value (Ridgeway, 2001).

Feminist scholars argue that cultural and power differences based on gender shape the ontology of each gender in the society. In other words, gendered norms and expectations formulate differential experiences, perceptions, feelings, and behaviors based on gender. These ontological differences, described in many different concepts such 'lived body' (Young, 2005) and 'gender performativity' (Butler, 1993), are also translated into epistemological differences that lead to distinctive perspectives or views based on gender. A discussion of gendered epistemologies originated from theoretical frameworks called standpoint theories (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1983). Standpoint theories argue that women's positioning in a less privileged situation in the society could provide a vantage point that better reflects the power structure in the society and thereby offers deep knowledge of inequity, even underneath a seemingly equitable society. In sum, gender as socially constructed norms and expectations regulates many dimensions of human life and experiences, and thereby produces distinctive viewpoints of each gender. Upon this understanding of gender, the following section



reviews a number of theoretical perspectives and relevant empirical studies that describe specifically how gender affects a person's leadership development.

### **Role Congruity**

Role congruity theory explains that congruity between expectations about gender and expectations about leaders (i.e., leader roles) underlies leadership advantage or disadvantage for each gender (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Just as attributes are ascribed to each gender, so are certain social roles (e.g., leaders, managers) characterized by some personality traits. For example, leader roles have traditionally been thought to require more agentic than communal qualities for successful performance. Accordingly, female gender disadvantage occurs when leader roles are strictly defined with masculine traits and thereby inconsistent with female gender role expectations (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002). In contrast, male gender disadvantage would happen when leader tasks require feminine traits such as communality and caring and thereby conflict with masculine gender roles and expectations. The role congruity theory thus points to the importance of the fit between gendered expectations and leader role requirements in order to diminish gender disadvantage in the leadership development context.

Role congruity perceptions generate leadership advantage in two disparate manner: functioning as descriptive or prescriptive norms. Descriptive norms, which are consensual beliefs about what women or men generally are, affect one's leadership development by socializing women and men into congruent gender traits and role expectations (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1995). They also influence leadership development through producing shared beliefs about whether a certain role matched or mismatched with each gender. For example, a leader role in a male-typed domain (e.g., army officer) will disregard women as potential leaders because of the lack of fit

between female gender role and the leader's role requirements (i.e., male-typed attributes) (Heilman, 2001).

Prescriptive norms denote socially shared expectations about how women or men should behave (Eagly & Karau, 2002). They exert influences when a person actually performs leadership roles in a group or an organization. In other words, prescriptive gender norms regulate actual behaviors or relational patterns of leaders in action, and provide either the context of advantage or disadvantage for leadership development. For example, women are expected to manifest communal qualities than agentic traits in order not to violate prescriptive gender norms in leadership contexts. In case the leadership context requires women to behave in an agentic way and thus violate the prescriptive gender norms (i.e., traditionally masculine traits), women are more likely disliked, disrespected, and penalized by performing masculine roles. In fact, several empirical studies showed that successful women leaders in male-typed domains are disliked and ridiculed due to the perception that these women do not have enough feminine traits (Eagly & Carli, 2003, 2007; Heilman, 2001).

### **Status Expectations**

Status expectations theory explains gender advantage in terms of differential status attached to each gender. In general, women are ascribed with lower power, secondary roles and inferior status compared to men (Berger, et al., 1977; Ridgeway, 2001). The differential power and status influences group dynamics by generating status expectations about men and women when they are interacting with each other in a group setting. The status expectations adapt individuals' behaviors within a group, and function in a way that reinforces the status differentials. In other words, men with the ascribed higher status change their behaviors to meet their status expectations; they behave in a more agentic manner than they used to do, which in

turn afforded greater power and prestige. In contrast, lower-status women adjust their behaviors according to the status expectations, and enact more supportive roles, behaving in more accommodating or communal ways (Ridgeway, 2001). A number of empirical studies supported these claims, finding that men acted in a more agentic manner, using assertive forms of influence and communications, whereas women relied more on subtle and indirect forms of influence, demonstrating higher levels of interpersonal and communal traits (Carli, 1999, 2001; Carli & Eagly, 1999, 2001).

Status expectations are activated when social groups with differential powers and status interact with each other and can make group comparisons. That is, a mixed gender group is more likely to be affected by status expectations than a single gender group. For example, Ridgeway (2001) found that women in a single-sex group are less affected by status expectations and represent more varied behavioral patterns than in a mixed-sex group. In other words, the effects of status expectations are likely to be lower in a single-sex group compared to a mixed-sex group.

### **Stereotype Threat**

Stereotype threat theory addresses how negative stereotypes targeting a certain social identity group undermine the performance and aspirations of this stigmatized group. According to the theory, stereotype threat is activated when negative stereotypes provide a plausible explanation for the targeted individuals' behaviors in a given situation. In other words, targeted individuals may reduce their performance or shun themselves from the stigmatizing situations for fear of being judged by, or treated in terms of those negative stereotypes (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

In leadership contexts, women are often negatively stereotyped as not belonging to leader roles; in other words, women are perceived to lack appropriate qualities for successfully

performing a leader role in a group. Women may reduce their aspirations for leader roles for fear of fulfilling this negative stereotype. In fact, research provides evidence that women exposed to negative stereotypes presented lower aspiration for leadership positions than those who were not so exposed (Davies, et al., 2005).

Stereotype threat research has explored several factors that could moderate the detrimental effects of stereotypes. Davies and his colleges (2005) asserted that when women received positive message about their leadership performance, they no longer were influenced by negative stereotypes about women's leadership. In a similar vein, role models that can provide counter-stereotypic positive images about women leaders are also found to moderate the detrimental effects of stereotype threat (Carbonell & Castro, 2008; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). In addition to providing positive images to reduce stereotype threats, Hoyt and Blascovich (2007) suggested that high leadership efficacy moderated the detrimental effect of negative stereotypes against female leaders. In other words, women with higher efficacy rated their leadership performance higher, identified themselves more with leader roles, and represented higher self-esteem and psychological well-being even when they were exposed to negative stereotypes against female leaders. A study by Dickerson and Taylor (2000) replicated the importance of self-efficacy for women's leadership aspirations: women who showed higher efficacy in conducting leadership tasks chose leadership roles more than follower roles, while women with low task-specific self-efficacy preferred follower roles.

### **Gender-typed socialization**

Gender-typed socialization emphasizes that gender shapes individual preferences and behaviors by providing different psychosocial learning contexts in which boys and girls are growing up (Block, 1983; Eagly, 1987). Mostly drawn from developmental psychology, authors

taking this stance pay attention to early childhood interactions with parents and teachers who reinforce sex-typed traits, roles, and behaviors. For example, boys are encouraged to participate in games requiring sequential, manipulative use of contingent strategies while girls are given toys that directed toward engagement in the interpersonal world (Block, 1983; Eagly, 1987). Through the differential nurturing, playing, and teaching practices during early childhood, girls and boys are socialized into gender-typed roles and behaviors.

Gender-typed socialization affects the context of leadership development by shaping individual preferences and styles of learning, behaving, and thinking. In other words, the developmental transitions are common across genders, but the approaches to the trends are different by gender (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1997; Block, 1983; Cross & Madson, 1997). For example, women are more likely than men to use interpersonal ways of knowing, learn through collecting others' ideas rather than critiquing them, and prefer learning environment where they can build relationships rather than independently seek the knowledge (Baxter Magolda, 1989, 1992; Belenky, et al., 1997; Cross & Madson, 1997).

Gendered styles of thinking and acting are also a major theme in the leadership research. Previous literature demonstrated that men and women differed in terms of how they conceptualized leadership (e.g., Astin & Leland, 1991; Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995) as well as the actual styles and behaviors of leadership (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992). Compared to men, women are reported to prefer nonhierarchical and collective ways of leading, and to conceptualize leadership as empowering others and enabling groups to take action (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995). By contrast, men more than women represent relatively task-oriented and

autocratic ways of leading, and conform to the view that defines leadership as authority, position, and power (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990).

### **Summary and Synthesis of Theories of Gender and Leadership Development**

This section covered theoretical perspectives and relevant empirical evidence that addressed how gender shapes a person's leadership development. A number of theories provided different angles from which to view the effects of gender on the leadership development process. Role congruity theory attends to the content and functioning of gender roles, and asserts that a mismatch between gender role descriptions and leader role requirements is the source of gender differentials in leadership development. Status expectations theory attributes gender effects to power differentials between women and men, and focuses on the conditions when the status beliefs are activated. Stereotype threats and gender socialization describe how gender is internalized and thereby affects a person's leadership development. Stereotype threat describes how stereotypical gender descriptions influence a person's aspirations and motivation for leadership development, while gender socialization explains how gender formulates gender-typed styles and preferences of learning and development. Several moderating factors that reduce or strengthen the gender effects are also identified from the discussions of theoretical perspectives. The nature of tasks, gender compositions of a group, role models and positive feedback, and leadership efficacy are those factors that would either enlarge or reduce gender differentials in leadership development. In sum, gender comprehensively affects a person's leadership development by shaping different contexts in which women and men learn and practice leadership skills, internalizing different preferences and styles, and assigning differential advantages of leadership development.

## Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study is grounded in the literature describing leadership development as an aspect of life-long human development, theory and research on self-authorship, and college impact research. Leadership development literature informs *how* people develop multidimensional leadership skills and knowledge by going through a series of experiences over lifetime. It also provides an understanding of how life-long human development provides a foundation for people's leadership capacity. Self-authorship theories and college impact research contributes a sense for *how* college students' learning and development is tied into the larger picture of life-long leadership development. It also draws from the feminist scholarship that describes gender as a social construction and explains how gender shapes the contextual factors to impact individuals' learning and development. The following figure illustrates how I view that the concepts drawn from the previous literature relate to one another.

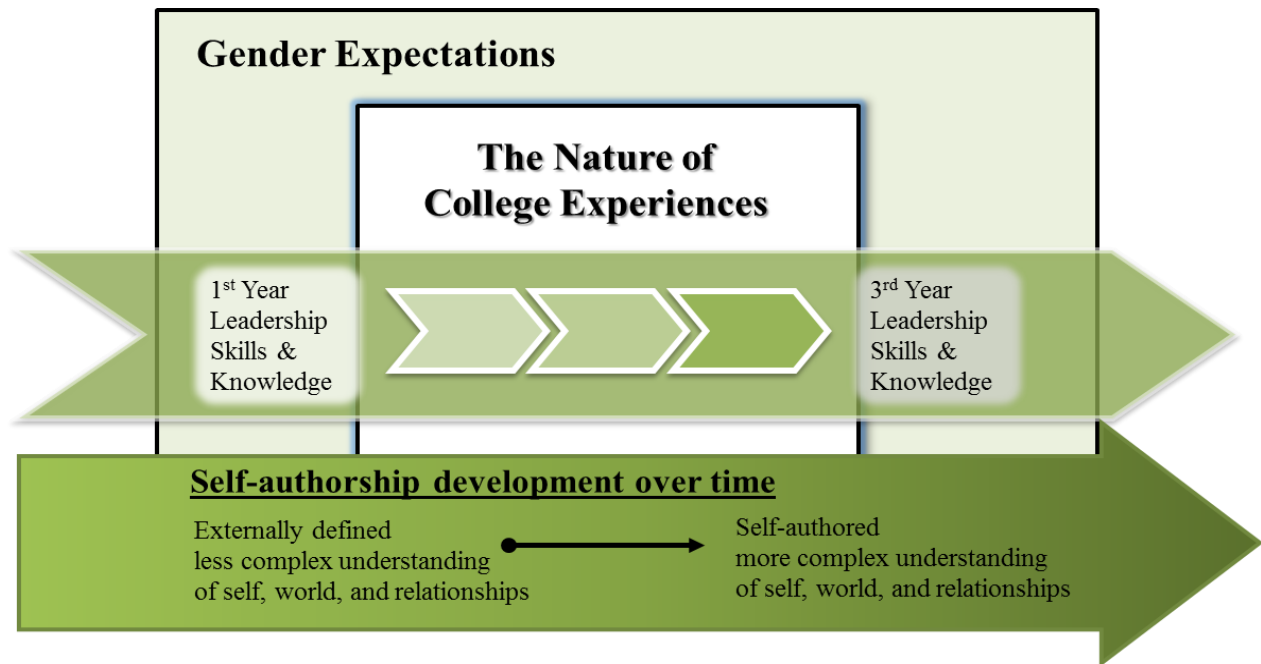


Figure 2.3. Conceptual Framework for Examining College Experiences Promoting College Students' Leadership Capacities

At the center of the figure is the nature of college experiences, the major focus of the current study. Despite college impact studies that identified many different types of leadership experiences (e.g., positional leadership, service learning), we know little about how and why college experiences influence students' leadership learning and development. Consequently, this study will examine the nature of college experiences promoting college students' leadership development. Given the focus of this study, the figure illustrates how I position college experiences in relation to students' leadership learning and development, self-authorship development, and gendered social expectations.

The learning of leadership skills is symbolized in a large transparent arrow as well as three non-transparent smaller arrows positioned in the middle of a larger arrow. The large transparent arrow signals that leadership development is a life-long process. This process starts before students enter colleges and continue after graduation, as reflected in the assumptions of



the I-O-E model of college impact studies. In other words, students enter college with varied levels of leadership skills, and the growth in their leadership skills should take these initial levels into consideration. Three smaller arrows that are situated within the large transparent arrow as well as the white rectangular box of college experiences represent steps of students' leadership learning, which will occur during college years as students go through many different collegiate experiences.

Self-authorship development, which is represented as an arrow at the bottom, provides the foundation for students' leadership development. As students develop more complex, fine-grained understanding of self and others, they can practice leadership skills in a more nuanced and principled way. In this figure, self-authorship is posited as a requirement for advanced leadership skills and knowledge. Similar to leadership development, self-authorship development is a life-long process, which is not simply bounded within the college years. Some students enter college with more advanced levels of self-authorship, while others enter with less complex understanding of themselves, the world, and relationships with others. In addition, development of self-authorship also occurs during the college years as students face challenges that test their inherent assumptions of meaning-making. Thus, college experiences are also connected to the development of self-authorship in the figure.

Gendered expectations represent the effects of gender as socially constructed concepts. Gender expectations, which are symbolized as a shadowed rectangular box, surround college experiences. This implies that gender expectations penetrate into college environments, and affect how students experience college depending on their gender. Gender expectations also cut across the transparent arrow of leadership development. This crossing of the two reflects feminists' discussions about how gender differently shapes the understanding of leadership

development. Gender expectations also touch self-authorship development as gender influences individual preferences and styles of learning, interacting with others, and behaving.

There is an assumption in this model that college student leadership development is a part of life-long developmental process, which occurs as people interact with environmental forces. I also assume that college experiences offer a developmental context where students learn and practice new skills and knowledge. Based on these assumptions, the question still remains: How do college students learn from these experiences to be better leaders? Although we know somewhat about the types of experiences promoting students' leadership, we do not know much about why and how these experiences are meaningful to students' leadership development. The current study will examine the features of college students' experiences as they relate to their leadership development. I suggest that the findings from the study will inform the question raised above, and provide implications for college student leadership development and education.

### **Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter details the methodology used to explore key features of college students' leadership experiences. Specifically, the chapter begins by elaborating the central research question presented in Chapter 1, noting the sub-questions that are the focus of this study. Next, it provides an overview of the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education (WNS), the data source of this study, and describes the data collection methods adopted in the WNS. This study analyzed a sub-sample of the WNS to address the research questions posted below, and explains the strategy used for identifying participants for this study with an overview of these students' characteristics. I next introduce a grounded theory approach as an analytic tool, with illustrations of coding and thematic analysis procedures followed. I conclude the chapter with a consideration of the main limitations of the study.

#### **Research Questions**

For the purposes of this study, leadership is conceptualized as a collective property which is derived not from a single powerful individual in a position of authority, but from relationships of people working together for a greater good (Drath, 2001; Komives, Lucas, & McMahon, 2006; Murrell, 1997; Rost, 1991). Leadership development that is grounded in these relational definitions of leadership is not limited to training people who have positions in an organizational hierarchy, but assumes that all individuals, not just a few with inborn leadership traits, can

participate effectively in a collective process with due preparation in leadership skills and knowledge. The review of literature on leadership development and college impact studies also illustrated that leadership consists of learnable abilities, and that the learning of leadership knowledge and skills occurs in the context of many leadership experiences. Leadership experiences in the previous studies denote group or organizational activities in which people could experience positional leadership roles or working with others towards a common purpose. A collegiate context provides one such setting, and students learn to become better leaders while navigating various organizational and/or group experiences on campus.

The previous literature also documented that socially constructed meanings of gender influence how students navigate their experiences and learn leadership skills through these experiences. Despite a rigorous search of the literature, I was unable to identify research that directly explores how differently or similarly students approach and then learn from their leadership experiences. Likewise, despite evidence that students with different levels of developmental capacity differently understand their experiences, there is not an adequate body of empirical studies that explicitly links students' maturity to the way they approach their leadership experiences on campus. In light of these issues and prior research, I have identified two main purposes for this study. The first purpose of this study is to explore how college students navigate leadership experiences on campus, and whether this differs by gender. The second purpose is to assess if college students' developmental maturity mediates the way they understand or respond to many different campus leadership experiences. Based on these purposes, the specific research questions are as follows:

1. What are key features of (relational) leadership experiences among college students?

2. Are there gender differences in the ways these students describe and interpret their leadership experiences, and if so, what are the differences?
3. What is the role of developmental maturity in the way they interpret and understand their leadership experiences? Does this differ by gender, and if so, what are the differences?

### **Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education**

The data for this study originate from the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education (WNS), a longitudinal, concurrent mixed methods study of liberal arts education that involved 19 institutions throughout the United States. The broad purpose of the WNS is to examine both the institutional practices and student experiences that are related to growth on seven liberal arts outcomes, including leadership. The other six outcomes are: effective reasoning and problem solving, inclination to inquire and lifelong learning, intercultural effectiveness, moral character, well-being, and integration of learning. (For a description of these outcomes, see King, Kendall Brown, Lindsay & VanHecke, 2007.) The WNS launched both the quantitative and qualitative assessments in Fall 2006 with an entering cohort of 4,501 first-year, full-time college students, most of whom participated in several follow-up assessments through Winter 2010.

A two-step sampling strategy was used to select participating institutions for the quantitative and qualitative portions of the study. The first step selected 19 institutions from more than 60 colleges and universities that responded to a national invitation to participate in the WNS; this decision was based on their vision of liberal arts education and the practices they implemented in the service of this educational goal. They were also chosen to reflect a variety of institutional characteristics, including institutional type (e.g., liberal arts colleges, research universities) and control (i.e., public or private), size, and location, among others. Participating

students were either randomly or entirely selected from these institutions depending on institutional size: for larger institutions, students were selected randomly from the incoming cohort, while for smaller schools (the liberal arts colleges), participants were invited from the entire first-year entering class. These students then completed a number of surveys and assessments at three points in time: the beginning of the first year (Fall 2006), the end of the first year (Winter 2007) and the end of the fourth year (Winter 2010). Of the original sample of 4,501 students who participated in Fall 2006 testing, 3801 participated in Winter 2007 follow-up assessment, and approximately 2200 continued their participation in Winter 2010 testing. The quantitative assessments took two hours and participating students were paid a stipend of \$50 for each testing.

In the second step, six colleges and universities were selected from these 19 institutions to also participate in the interview portion of the study. They were selected to reflect a range of institutional types and locations, as well as to include student bodies that were sufficiently diverse to increase the likelihood of obtaining a racially and ethnically diverse sample. The six institutions included four small liberal arts colleges, one mid-sized private university, and one large public university; two are Hispanic-serving institutions, and one enrolls approximately 50% African American and 50% White students. I provide a detailed description of each institution later in this chapter.

Participating students were selected at these six institutions from those who completed the quantitative survey component of the study and indicated their willingness to participate in the qualitative portion of the study, oversampling men and students of color to yield a more balanced distribution. The qualitative data were derived from student interviews that took place in the fall semester of each academic year. The study team interviewed 315 students in fall of

2006 (Year 1), re-interviewed 228 of these students in fall of 2007 (Year 2), 204 in fall of 2008 (Year 3), and 177 in fall of 2009 (Year 4). Each interview lasted 60-90 minutes, and participating students received a stipend of \$30 each time they completed the interview.

### **Wabash National Study Data Collection**

#### **The WNS interview**

The protocol used in the qualitative portion of the WNS was Baxter Magolda and King (2007)'s Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education (WNS) Interview. This interview was designed to yield information about students' characteristics, important college experiences, and how they make meaning of these experiences (i.e., what meaning-making structures they are using). The semi-structured interview protocol provided a guideline of a conversation between the interviewer and student; the conversation was constructed based on the experiences that the student identified as meaningful. The interviewer explored these experiences using a variety of prompts designed to elicit detailed descriptions and students' personal interpretations of these experiences. As such, the WNS interviews were constructed "in situ" – as the conversations unfold – rather than being strictly guided by a structured set of questions (Baxter Magolda & King, 2007, 2012).

The topics covered in the WNS interview protocol were organized into three segments. The opening segment is designed to build rapport between the interviewer and the student, and identify students' entering characteristics (i.e., ways of constructing knowledge, self, relationships and personal history). The second (and primary) segment of the interview addresses the educational experiences that the student regarded as key to her or his development and how she or he made meaning of these experiences. Students' interpretations of their meaningful experiences were used as a means of accessing each person's deep underlying

assumptions and internal structure for meaning making that indicates his or her developmental orientation or capacity. The third and last segment of the interview elicits the respondents' synthesis of their experiences and patterns in their meaning making.

The interview protocols were reviewed annually by members of the WNS interview team and adapted in order to better reflect students' increasing exposure to the curriculum as well as co-curricular programs and activities. For example, the interview protocol of Year 1 specifically focused on students' background information and asked about their expectations of college experiences; this provided a baseline of students' developmental capacity; by contrast, the interview protocols of Years 2 through 4 were structured to touch on multiple aspects of college experiences (e.g., challenging experiences, meeting diverse friends, cocurricular experiences). The interview protocols used for the WNS can be found in Appendices A, B, and C for Years 1, 2, and 3, respectively. Although the WNS also interviewed students in Year 4, data from those interviews were not available when I started the present study. Thus, I analyzed interviews from the first three years of the study.

The WNS interviews were conducted by a team of trained interviewers. The interviewers were graduate students studying higher education administration or college student personnel or professionals with this background; knowledge of student development theories was a prerequisite given the developmental focus of the interview. The training session consisted of approximately 15 hours of in-person instruction led by one or both of the authors of WNS interview, Marcia Baxter Magolda and Patricia King. Each interviewer also conducted at least one practice interview and received feedback prior to collecting data for the study.



### **Identification of Participants for this Study**

The primary purpose of the present study is to examine key features of college students' leadership experiences and, if any, observed patterns relevant to gender and developmental capacity in those features. Addressing this purpose required that I purposely select participants who were likely to provide rich narratives about their leadership experiences. I adopted a purposeful sampling method with a set of criteria used to choose potentially information-rich cases from the larger study of WNS. Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Patton 1990). LeCompte and Preissle (1993) proposed "criterion-based selection" for purposeful sampling, which involves creating a list of the attributes essential to your study and then proceeding to find or locate a unit matching the list (p. 70).

I used several criteria to select potentially information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon intensely, but not extremely. First, I selected four out of the six interview institutions for their emphasis on nurturing a sense of service and leadership among students and the prevalence of educational practices designed for leadership development (e.g., leadership education programs, service learning opportunities, prevalence of a Greek system). These institutions had high potential to offer data related to leadership experiences. Another advantage to choosing these four was their distinctive educational context: two were single-sex institutions with one being all-female and other all-male, one was a comprehensive mid-sized institution, and two were religiously affiliated, either actively so or by historic tradition. This diversity in educational contexts may shape students' leadership experiences in many different ways, adding interesting variability in where and how these experiences could occur and progress over time.

Including cases with variability, in fact, is a well-accepted practice. Maximum variation sampling was first introduced for qualitative methods by Glaser and Strauss (1967), who reasoned that a grounded theory would produce more conceptually dense and potentially more useful understanding about a phenomenon if it had been “grounded” in widely varying instances of the phenomenon. Likewise, Patton (1990) argued that findings from even “a small sample of great diversity” would yield “important shared patterns that can cut across cases and derive their significance from having emerged out of heterogeneity” (p. 172). Hence, institutional diversity reflected in four campuses would contribute to credibility of emerging themes and categories.

Second, because this study explored the features of leadership experiences, identifying participants who actually had those experiences and provided sufficient descriptions of their experience was crucial. Thus, I purposely chose those students who had a complete three year-set of interviews and whose descriptions of the leadership experiences were sufficiently detailed to elicit students’ understanding of their experiences and provide information on how they chose to be involved with such experiences. Of the original sample of 210 interview participants from the four institutions, 124 students had completed all three interviews. Identifying interviews that sufficiently illustrated leadership experiences involved a review of all the students’ experience summaries generated by the study team for the larger study. (I drew specifically from the WNS Phase 1 summaries, which are described next.)

All the WNS interviews were summarized in two phases as a first step in the analysis for the larger project (Baxter Magolda & King, 2008, 2012). The purpose of the Phase 1 summary was to identify each experience a student discussed as important along with its effect, the relationship of the effect to one or more of the seven liberal arts outcomes, and the institutional role (if any) in the experience. Illustrative quotes were offered to support these observations at

the end of each summary. Phase 2 of the summary was composed in order to assess the self-authorship capacity of the student. Students' developmental capacity was assessed with ten positions that span the journey from an external to an internal orientation; narratives along with verbatim quotes from the interviews were offered to describe and support the evaluation. There were four assessments presented in the second phase of the summary, an overall assessment and a separate one for each dimension of development (i.e., cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal). This way of assessment is consistent with traditional approaches of assessing college student development, and also reflects the holistic nature of self-authorship as conceptualized by Kegan (1994) and Baxter Magolda (1999). The WNS Guide to Creating an Interview Summary is included in Appendix D. (For more detailed description about WNS interviews and summaries, please refer to Baxter Magolda & King, 2012).

In order to identify interviews with ample leadership examples, I reviewed all the Phase 1 summaries from the 124 students who met the first criterion. Leadership in the WNS was defined using Astin's (1996) Social Change Model (SCM) of leadership development. SCM, as I illustrated in Chapter 3, proposed seven core dimensions of values that would be present in a relational leadership process for a social change. These core values are Consciousness of self, Congruence, Commitment, Common purpose, Collaboration, Controversy with civility, and Citizenship, which are collectively called as 7 C's to take the first letter of each value (Astin, 1996; Higher Education Research Institute, 1996). Subsequently, where the focus of one or more of the 7 C's of SCM was observed in students' descriptions, summarizers noted and recorded them with illustrative quotes supporting the observation. Despite the guideline for summarizing, researchers conducting Phase 1 summaries did not have the same depth of understanding about the 7C's of SCM. Due to this variability in knowledge of and familiarity

with the SCM, there could be differences in perspectives and interpretation about leadership experiences across researchers. For this reason and in order to assure that the complete set of leadership experiences was included in my analytic sample, I not only reviewed those experiences already coded for the leadership outcome, but also closely read other experiences. In deciding whether the experience was related to leadership, I used three criteria: (1) whether the experience happened in a relational process (i.e., a group of people working together for a larger good); (2) whether the relational process involved had a positive, shared goal beyond the relationship building itself; and lastly (3) whether the experience reflected students' capacity in any of the 7 C's of SCM. This comprehensive review of Phase 1 summaries resulted in the identification of 148 experiences that met the three criteria described above; these were reported by 79 students. It is important to note that this process was done to select the analytic sample, which is separate from the coding procedures I used (described in detail later in this chapter).

Third, from this group of 79 students, I selected only those students who reported two or more leadership experiences across Years 2 and 3 interviews. As Miles and Huberman (1994) denote, boundary setting or narrowing down to manageable size of sample is a required step due to the limited time and energy of the researcher. It was beyond the capacity of a single researcher to analyze three-year-long interviews of 79 students, which might result in a review of 237 interview transcripts. For this reason, I chose those students who were likely to yield more examples of leadership. Out of 79 students, there were 39 students who had two or more leadership examples reported in their three-year-long Phase 1 summaries. Therefore, my analytic sample consists of 39 students from four institutions.

The types and the frequencies of leadership experiences reported by 39 students and recorded in WNS Phase 1 summaries are presented in Table 3.1. (Detailed descriptions for each

of the institutions and their educational focus in relation to leadership education are provided in the next section.) According to Table 3.1, the sample is evenly distributed across four institutions with slightly more students selected from the two co-ed institutions than from the two single-sex colleges. Since a major purpose of this study is to see if gender-related patterns exist in ways that students understand their leadership experiences, getting a gender-balanced sample is important for this comparative purpose. The analytic sample is not evenly distributed across gender, but there are sufficient students in each group, which will allow comparisons between women and men.

Table 3.1.  
*Number of Students Selected for This Study by Gender and Institution*

	Single sex		Co-educational		Total
	A	B <sup>1)</sup>	C	D <sup>2)</sup>	
Female	-	8	7	8	23
Male	9	-	3	4	16
Total	9	8	10	12	39

<sup>1)</sup> Enrollment is 50% African American and 50% White

<sup>2)</sup> Hispanic-serving institution

Students reported a wide variety of leadership experiences, and Table 3.2 presents the types of activities each student reported. It is noteworthy that the types of reported leadership experiences differed by students' gender. Half of the women participants ( $n=11$ ) were involved in peer mentor/leader roles while only two male students reported this type of experience. In comparison, half of the male students in the sample reported their participation in a fraternity while less than one fifth of female students were affiliated with any type of sororities.

Institutional differences are also evident: fraternity activities were dominant at College A, with more than 65% of students reporting this affiliation, whereas College B (the all-female small liberal arts college), had a preponderance of students who served in student mentor or

advisor roles. Students at College C reported involvements in social Greek or student mentor/advisor roles most frequently. In comparison, University D had the highest number of students involved in either service or activist activities such as labor action project or environmental clubs. These institutional differences merits probing into the major educational practices designed for leadership development that was emphasized on each institution. The following section illustrates each of these practices by institution.

Table 3.2.  
Contexts and Types of Students' Leadership Experiences

Inst.	Name <sup>(1)</sup>	Service/ Activist <sup>(2)</sup>	Social Greek <sup>(3)</sup>	Identity- based <sup>(4)</sup>	Sports- based <sup>(5)</sup>	Mentor/ Advisor <sup>(6)</sup>	Other <sup>(7)</sup>			
A	Aiden	X	X	X	X		X			
	Brady						X			
	Bruce									
	Devin						X			
	Joseph						X			
	Ken						X			
	Lucas									
	Tyler						X			
Will	X					X				
B	Amber			X		X				
	Bob					X				
	Chloe					X				
	Franny					X				
	Jacky					X				
	Julie					X				
	Laura					X				
	Milo					X				
C	Courtney		X	X	X	X				
	Darcy							X		
	Emma							X		
	Melinda									
	Susan							X		
	Talyah							X		
	Viola							X		
	Alex							X		
Noah	X	X	X	X	X					
Sean						X				
D	Grace	X		X						
	Juliana	X		X						
	Lisa			X						
	Madeline	X								
	Maggie			X						
	Natalie	X								
	Olivia			X				X		
	Samantha	X		X						
	Andrew	X								
	Gavin									X
	Jordan							X		
	Xavier									X

- (1) All names in the table are pseudonyms that students choose for themselves.  
(2) Service/Activist includes service learning/project and engaging in (or starting) campus organization for raising awareness about certain social issues such as labor and environment.  
(3) Social Greek includes involvements in sorority or fraternity.  
(4) Identity-based involvements denote engaging with organizations or groups based on any identity domains (e.g., faith, racial/ethnic, sexual orientation).  
(5) Sports-based involvements include participating in athlete teams or engaging in clubs tied to sports activities (e.g., cheerleading).  
(6) Mentor/Advisor activities include orientation leader, peer mentor, and resident advisor.  
(7) Others are inclusive of media (e.g., school paper, yearbook), student government, theater, etc.

## Leadership Education Practices of the Four Selected Institutions

Because all four institutions have different types of institutional practices and educational programs designed to promote student leadership, it is worthwhile describing the educational practices of each campus in order to gain information about the campus context that is relevant to student leadership development. Table 3.3 summarizes the type, size, and institutional characteristics of participating institutions; a detailed description of each campus vis-à-vis leadership education follows the table.

Table 3.3.  
*Characteristics of Participating Institutions*

<b>College</b>	<b>Under-graduate Enrollment</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Other Information</b>	<b>Location</b>
College A	875	Liberal Arts	Private	All male college; 79% white students	Midwest
College B	900	Liberal Arts	Private	Methodist; All female college; about half African-American	South
College C	1,367	Liberal Arts	Private	Quaker tradition; 1/3 Hispanic students	West
University D	8,363	Research	Private	Catholic affiliation; 74% white students	Midwest

*College A.* This institution is an all-male, private, independent liberal arts college in the Midwest. College A enrolls 875 male students from approximately 34 states and about 17 foreign countries; about 70% of the students are from Indiana and approximately 79% are white. The college mission statement indicates that leadership education is one of its educational foci, and the college pursues this by “developing not only their analytical skills, but also sensitivity to values, and judgment and compassion required of citizens living in a difficult and uncertain world” (College A website, 2011).



Educating for the qualities of leadership is carried out in a residential setting where students are engaged in different types of group activities. Fraternity activities are one prominent segment of these activities; more than half of the students at College A live in one of the nine national fraternity chapter houses. Students who belong to fraternities usually pledge in their first year of college. The requirements of pledging include participation in multiple house-related activities (e.g., doing chores, attending study tables) as well as regular meetings and events (e.g., volunteer activities, attending chapter meetings). Besides fraternity activities, several campus traditional events (e.g., Homecoming events, Reciting School Song Event) provide a venue for students to build a community and a bond with other students.

*College B.* This institution is an all-female, private, liberal arts college affiliated with the United Methodist Church, and is located in the Southern part of the U.S. It offers co-educational evening and graduate programs as well as single sex undergraduate education. Enrollment is approximately 900 undergraduate students, and about half of the student population is African American and the other half is White.

The center that promotes students' engagement with learning at College B (Learning Center, hereafter) and the Leadership Institute are two major actors providing leadership education for undergraduate students. The Learning Center, in collaboration with leadership studies program, coordinates structured leadership programs such as a leadership studies minor, a seven-week long workshop culminating in a leadership certificate, and a semester long personalized leadership course devoted to leadership development in each academic field. The Leadership Institute serves a larger population of women through the state by providing a series of outreach programs, seminars, workshops, networking events, and a major speaker series featuring women of national renown.

Another segment of leadership education comes from a variety of structured peer mentoring programs across campus. These include roles such as Orientation Leaders, STEM mentors, co-instructors of Liberal Arts 100, academic peer tutors, and Resident Advisors. These peer mentoring opportunities, usually tied to a structured guidance and mentoring from faculty members, provide opportunities to practice interpersonal and leadership skills while interacting with peer mentees.

What is distinctive about leadership education in College B is its definition of leadership. All of above mentioned curricular activities aim at developing “4Cs” of leadership potential: Courage, Confidence, Commitment, and Competence. In contrast to conventional definitions of leadership as reflecting authority, position or power, College B’s leadership education emphasizes non-positional, relational leadership capacities that are consistent with Seven C’s of SCM.

*College C.* College C is a private liberal arts college located in a suburban area of the West Coast. It enrolls 1367 undergraduate students, one-third of whom are Hispanic students. College C was founded by Quakers, but is no longer religiously affiliated.

Leadership at College C is defined as skills and competences necessary for working with others rather than being in a position of power or authority. Based on College C’s foundational values grounded in the egalitarian Quaker tradition, leadership programs on campus cultivate a student’s ability to facilitate collaborative and relational processes that lead to positive, responsible change within campus as well as surrounding communities.

The Leadership, Experience, and Program (LEAP) Office is a major unit on campus that provides four formal leadership programs: a leadership certificate program called Poet’s L.E.A.D. (Leadership Education and Development); two interactive leadership workshops

named P.O.E.T. Leadership (Providing Opportunities for Excellence through Leadership) and First Class Leadership Series; and a two-day leadership conference called the Developing Leaders Summit. Besides the formal leadership education programs, service opportunities are highlighted as a valuable path to leadership development, and LEAP coordinates a number of service opportunities where students as well as staff and faculty members can participate.

*University D.* This institution is a private religiously-affiliated research university located in Midwest. University D enrolls a total of 11,731 students of whom 71% were undergraduate ( $n=8,363$ ) and approximately 74% were white students in the 2008-09 academic year, and has one of the highest undergraduate residential concentrations of any national university, with 80% of its students living in 29 residence halls throughout their undergraduate years.

University D's Catholic faith tradition is evident in its explicit commitment to the Christian faith as well as its educational emphasis on promoting social justice. Accordingly, leadership education is implemented within a social justice education framework. The center that promotes students' service learning (Service Learning Center, hereafter) at University D is a major actor in providing leadership learning opportunities through its sponsorship of various service learning programs. These programs, geared toward social justice and social change, send students to service sites (e.g., in Appalachia) where they can interact with and do service for less privileged people. The Service Learning Center also offers a number of academic courses focusing on social justice and leadership, such as "Leadership and Social Responsibility" and "Vocation and Leadership in the Catholic Social Traditions." In particular, the course "Discipleship: Loving Action for Justice" is offered for those students who returned from various

service experiences and desire an extended opportunity for reflection and analysis of these experiences.

Athletics is an important segment of student life, providing another venue to develop and practice leadership skills. University D's athletic traditions such as attending varsity football games, playing on residence hall intramural teams, and participating in the campus annual sports tournament offers a forum where students commit themselves, build relationships with their peers, and develop leadership skills.

Table 3.4.  
*Key Features of Leadership Educational Practices*

<b>College</b>	<b>Administrative unit</b>	<b>Educational Focus</b>
College A	-	Residential education, Strong presence of Greek organizations
College B	The Learning Center & Leadership Institute	4C's: confidence, courage, commitment, competence
College C	Leadership Education and Development	Relational leadership
University D	The Center for Social Concerns	Social justice, residential education

Looking at leadership educational practices revealed variability across institutions. For example, one institution emphasizes service and social justice as a core educational value while another university highlights the importance of developing leadership qualities among female students. Exploring institutional differences is not the focus of this study; however, as I stated earlier, this institutional diversity is important in this study as it relates to maximum variation sampling and would contribute to credibility of emerging themes and categories. In the next section, I turn to the analytic strategies that I used for this study.

## **Analytic Strategies**

This study is grounded in the constructivist paradigm that recognizes knowledge as constructed when people engaged with the world, human interactions, and social processes (Creswell, 2003). Taking this stance, the goal of the study is to understand and describe the phenomenon of interest (i.e., features of college students' leadership experiences) from the perspectives of participants. It is important to select strategies that are commensurate with the chosen paradigm and theoretical perspectives (Greene & Caracelli, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

A grounded theory methodology is well suited to the purpose of this study for three reasons. First, grounded theory emphasizes the inductive and emergent process of research, which is commensurate with the constructivist paradigm (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Sensitizing concepts and a theoretical perspective that I will use in this analysis (described below) are derived from the constructionist paradigm of research. Additionally, although I go into the data analysis with a set of theoretical perspectives and sensitizing concepts (e.g., gender and developmental maturity), the purpose of this study is not to test a priori hypotheses or theories; rather, the goal is to construct students' understanding of their college experiences with a set of sensitizing concepts guiding the inquiry. That is, an assumption of this study is that students are embedded in social contexts and have agency to construct their own meanings of the world, self, and the relationships. Second, grounded theory strategies allow a researcher to uncover processes of a certain social phenomenon by bringing up, consolidating, and linking categories that are grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The third reason grounded theory is well suited to the purpose of this study is that its strategies provide a powerful analytic technique for theory building. Because I am interested in integrating gender and a developmental lens into studying college student

experiences, the study warrants a conceptual flexibility that may expand to theory building. Additionally, considering the relative dearth of research and theories about college students' leadership development, it is necessary to build a theory that can explain how students learn leadership from college experiences. The following section will explain two theoretical frameworks that inform the analysis, and describe the grounded theory strategies for analyzing the data used in this study.

### **Sensitizing Concepts: Relational Leadership and Gendered Positionality**

Sensitizing concepts provide an interpretive device rather than a definite coding framework, and are useful as an entry point to a grounded theory analysis (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 2003; Galser, 1978). Blumer (1954), the late sociologist who first introduced the term, distinguished the use of sensitizing concepts in qualitative research from that of definitive concepts;

A definitive concept refers precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of a clear definition in terms of attributes or fixed bench marks. ... A sensitizing concept lacks such specification of attributes or bench marks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content. Instead, it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look (p. 7).

As Blumer suggested, I used two sensitizing concepts to inform the analysis of this study: relational leadership and feminist epistemologies. Relational models of leadership have conceptualized leadership as a collective property that is derived not from a single powerful individual in a position or authority, but from the interactions among people working together for

a greater good (Astin, 1996; HERI, 1996; Rost, 1991). Among many models of relational leadership, Astin's Social Change Model (SCM) of leadership development was particularly informative since the model defines seven core values to be represented in the leadership education process and also is specifically targeted for promoting college students' leadership development. I used the concept of leadership described by the SCM to guide my understanding of students' leadership experiences.

In Chapter 2, I also provided a number of perspectives to conceptualize gender. For this study, my understanding of gender is guided by theories of situated knowledge and gendered positionality. Situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988), which emerged from feminist discussions and critiques of white-male hegemonic scientific objectivity, theorizes gender as a standpoint that are reflected in what one knows and could know in a social context (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1983). Haraway (1988) illuminated the contingent nature of knowing with the imagery of vision:

It is a lesson available from photographs of how the world looks to the compound eyes of an insect or even from the camera eye of a spy satellite ... There is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines; there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing world (Haraway, 1988, p. 583).

The imagery of vision reveals that any perspective, grounded in one's own positioning in the world, is limited and partial in terms of knowing the world. In addition, perspectives are not ever fixed because one's positioning is in constant flux in relation to others and society. Subsequently, feminist objectivity is "about particular and specific embodiment, not about the false vision promising transcendence of all limits" (Haraway, 1988, p. 582).

From this understanding of objectivity, feminist standpoint theories argued for bringing accounts of women and other marginalized groups into scientific knowledge in order to provide better accounts of the world. In other words, they argued for the advantage of women's (and other marginalized groups') vantage points to unveil different knowledge about society (e.g., oppression, power structure, inequity), which has been masked and considered illegitimate by white-male hegemonic knowledge claims (Haraway, 1988; Hartsock, 1983). Situated knowledge as well as feminist standpoint theory will provide frameworks from which to analyze students' gendered perspectives about their experiences. Specifically, these theories will help sensitize gender privilege and gendered social situations affecting students' perceptions and/or interpretations of their leadership experiences.

### **Theoretical Framework for Developmental Maturity**

In this study, I used self-authorship theory, among many constructive-developmental theories, to analyze students' developmental maturity. Originally introduced by Robert Kegan (1982, 1994) and further refined by Marcia Baxter Magolda (2001, 2004), the theory of self-authorship describes the holistic development of meaning-making structures from an externally driven, cognitively simple meaning-making lens to one that is internally grounded and more complex (e.g., allowing for the consideration of multiple perspectives). Since the theory addresses how the structure (not the content) of one's meaning making evolves over time, it has been applied to or incorporated into a number of dimensions of college student development: intercultural effectiveness (King, Perez, & Shim, 2011), integration of learning (Barber, 2008), women's career development (Creamer & Laughlin, 2005), college experiences and the adaptation process of high-risk students (Pizzolato, 2003, 2004), ethnic identity development (Torres, 2007), sexual identity development (Abes & Jones, 2004), and psychological well-being



(Wakefield, 2013). These studies evidenced that multiple dimensions of student development (cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal) were intertwined with development of the internal structure of students' meaning making, and that students using different structures offered qualitatively different testimonials. Similarly, self-authorship theory provides a framework for viewing students' leadership experiences from a developmental perspective.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the integration of sensitizing concepts and the theoretical framework adopted in this study and how each perspective informed the analysis. Situated knowledge and self-authorship theory are represented as two circles that are cast over students' relational leadership experiences. Based on these two perspectives, gender as well as developmental capacity reflects epistemological standings that affect individuals' understanding and interpretation of their own experiences. While each offers a unique vantage point to render specific interpretations of given experiences, I also acknowledge the interaction between the two, which is presented as the overlapping portion of two circles. With this theoretical perspective in mind, I will compare students' leadership experiences by gender, and then proceed to examine the role of students' developmental orientation in the way they make meaning of their leadership experiences.

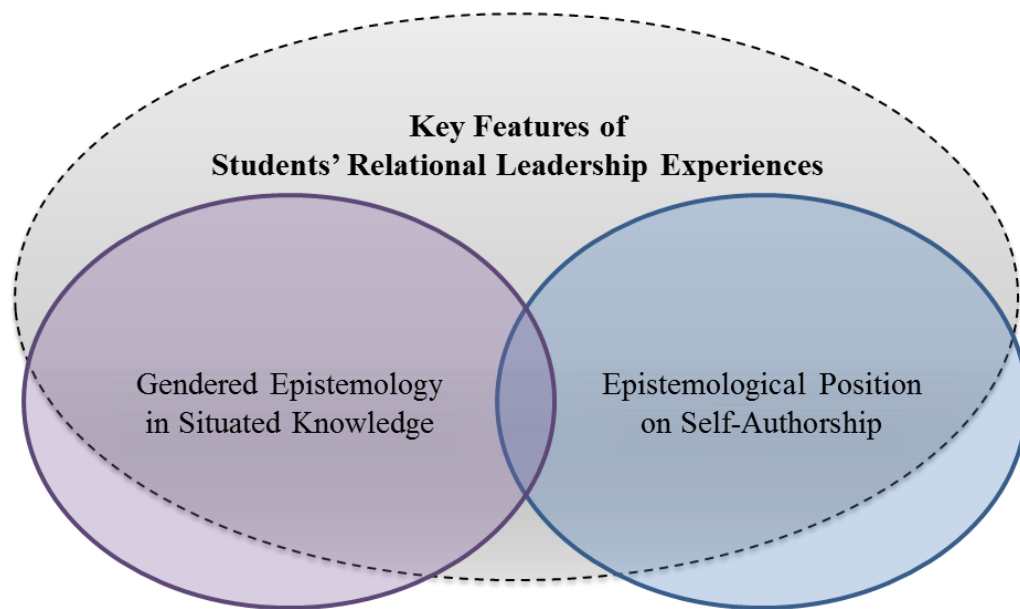


Figure 3.1. Sensitizing Concepts and Theoretical Framework for This Study

### Coding Procedures

For this study, I analyzed transcribed interviews ( $n=117$ ) from 39 students by adopting multi-step strategies of a grounded theory data analyses (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Specifically, this involved open, axial, and selective coding; this is not a lockstep procedure, but an iterative process that constantly revisits the data for new insights emerging and crystallizing into categories. Grounded theory, first introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967), originally included both analytic strategies and sampling for generating theories. Sampling was also included in the iterative steps; new insights from the data allowed researchers to go back and select other informants who would likely provide different angles to the issues under investigation and expand the understanding of the phenomena of interest. However, secondary data analysis did not allow me to conduct a theoretical sampling or member checking, which are highly recommended for grounded theory research. However, grounded theory techniques are also widely used as guiding principles to organize and analyze data (Charmaz, 2006), which is

how I used it for this study; that is, I adopted grounded techniques as a systematic practice to organize the data, not also to guide the design of my study.

The first step of the analysis involved open coding, which focused on delineating the segments of interviews that were meaningful to students' leadership development. I conducted line-by-line coding to identify those experiences that students reported as significant and that also reflected concepts of relational leadership. Then, I coded on these experiences for key features and the meanings students make. After conducting open-coding of each interview, I reassembled the data using axial coding to synthesize and interrelate emerging categories regarding key features of leadership experiences. Last, I conducted selective coding to refine the categories emerging from the data. With these three general strategies of coding, I organized my analytic process into four steps to systematically arrange, compare, and integrate emerging themes and categories. These four steps are: (1) open coding, (2) axial and selective coding, (3) gender comparison; and (4) consideration of developmental capacity within and across gender. Figure 3.2 illustrates these steps and describes how the unit of analysis expanded from codes from respective leadership experiences, to consolidating categories, to the gender groups, and finally, to levels of developmental capacities.

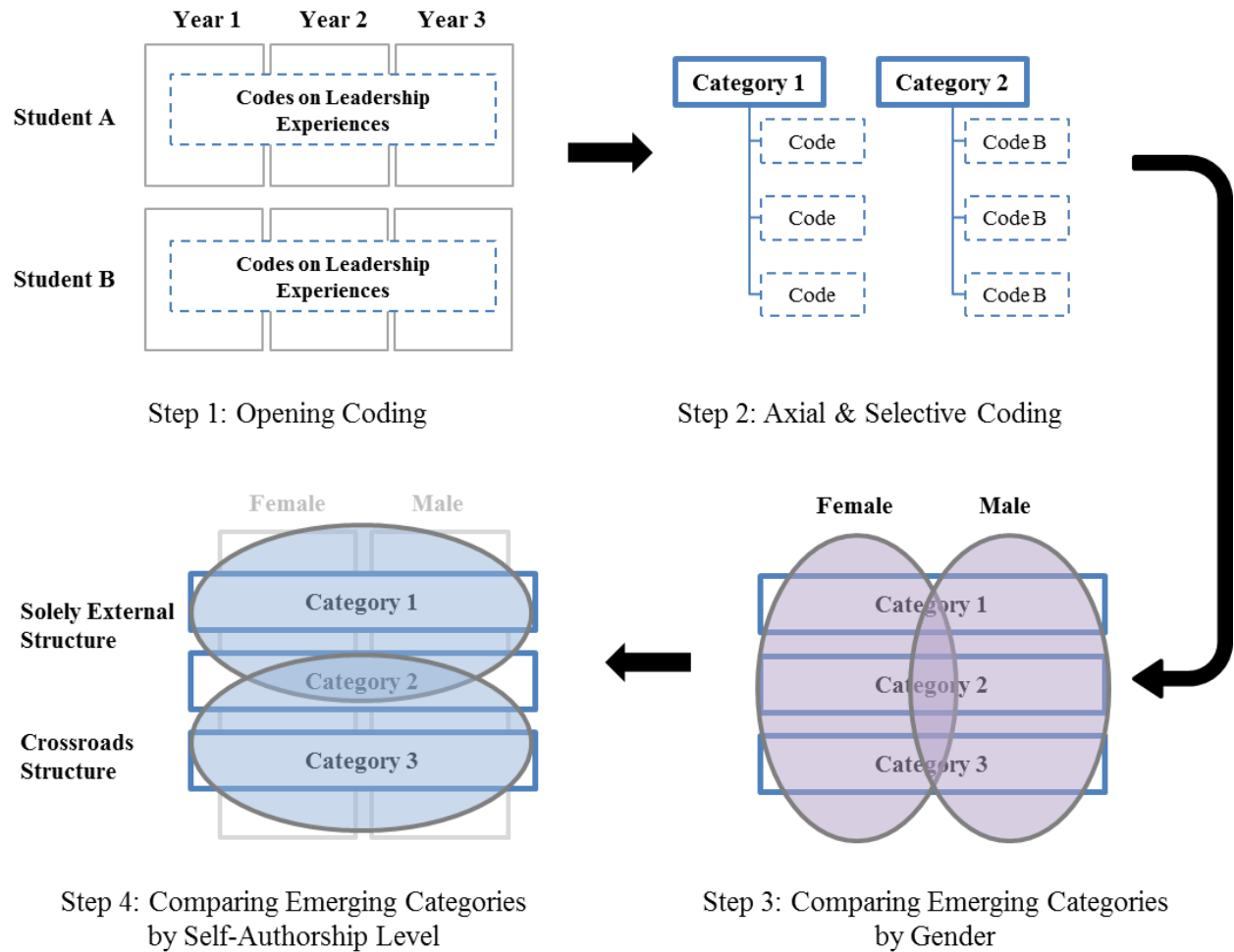


Figure 3.2. Diagram of Coding Procedures and Units of Analysis

Throughout these stages of coding, I adopted the constant comparative method as a means to develop and solidify any emergent categories and themes. This method of data analysis was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as the means of developing grounded theory. As is implied in the name “constant comparative,” comparisons are constantly made within, between and among tentative categories and themes until a theory can be formulated (Merriam, 1998).

*Peer-Debriefing.* I recruited a peer debriefer to help understand the data and check on my own presuppositions that may have unduly affected my interpretation of data. This peer

debriefers were Malisa Lee, a doctoral student in higher education at the University of Michigan, who was also conducting a qualitative study for her doctoral dissertation. We agreed to mutually serve as each other's peer debriefer. Besides her availability and willingness to serve in this role, she was recruited for her expertise in higher education as a practitioner and a researcher. She had worked in higher education admissions before beginning her doctoral studies and conducted many studies regarding students' access to and success in higher education. Although we were in the same program, her approach to higher education was policy-oriented, while I focused on student developmental processes. This difference in how we approached students' learning issues in higher education was especially valuable, as she could provide alternative understanding of the data.

She reviewed 18 interview transcripts from 12 students, 15% of a total of 117 interviews in my sample, for her review. I purposefully chose the interview transcripts to be shared, as follows. I selected three students' complete set of three-year-longitudinal interviews since these students reported rich narratives regarding positional leadership or group involvement throughout the years of participation. I chose other interviews to represent various types of leadership experiences as well as to include many different background characteristics (e.g., gender, institutional affiliation, year of interview).

Ms. Lee separately conducted open coding on those transcripts. In the peer-debriefing meetings, we shared our open codes, compared and discussed those codes. I encouraged her to challenge my interpretation of the data, as well as to check if my codes were in line with hers. This process helped reveal new insights about the data, which were later consolidated into categories and themes. I also shared emergent themes and categories with illustrative quotes once I completed open coding and launched the axial coding process. Based on the transcripts

she read and coding she conducted on those transcripts, she checked whether the themes represented what she read from the data and provided her own insights on these themes as well as new areas for exploration as I progressed into axial coding process. The process of cross-validation and the challenging of my interpretation bolstered the trustworthiness of my work.

*Step One: Open Coding.* I adopted Charmaz's (2006) guide to grounded theory coding for this study. The open coding is "provisional, comparative, and grounded in the data" (p. 48), allowing the discovery of the components of the phenomenon about which the researcher is interested. For the open coding, I read students' interview transcripts line-by-line with an eye toward identifying the components of interviews relevant to student relational leadership experiences and then delineating those to discern key features of students' leadership experiences. I tried to keep myself open as much as possible to capture any types of information relevant to student leadership development. Information or narratives that I coded included students' description of their personalities (e.g., shy, outgoing, first-born), illustrations of their prior as well as current leadership experiences (e.g., class president, peer mentor, captain of an athletic team), their approaches to collective tasks (e.g., students' attitudes towards interpersonal conflicts arising in a student organization, a sense of belonging to a student group), etc. It is important to highlight that open coding involved a close review of the whole transcripts, which was separate from a review of Phase 1 summaries.

*Step Two: Axial and Selective Coding.* After completing open coding on each leadership experience, I conducted axial coding in order to relate categories to subcategories as well as reassemble the data to give coherence to the emerging analysis (Charmaz, 2006). All the open codes generated from interview transcripts were carefully reread, sorted, and organized to create subsuming categories that described the key features of students' leadership experiences. I

adopted constant comparative methods to distill many descriptive codes into subsuming conceptual categories; codes were compared to codes and then merged with similar codes to generate categories; preliminary categories were also compared to initial codes to allow new insights to emerge and carefully reviewed for alternative grouping or re-categorization; last, final categories were compared to the data as well as to other categories to check whether the category accurately captured the essence of students' narratives and whether it was distinct and separate from other categories.

*Step Three: Gender Comparison.* As was stated earlier, scholars of feminist epistemologies argue that one's gendered positionality in society permits individuals to see different aspects of society (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991). In particular, they argue that women's perspectives have some advantages for revealing social inequity and unjust power relationships (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1991). Drawing from these feminist approaches, I compared emergent themes and categories by students' gender in a constant comparative manner. When doing so, I not only counted the frequencies of specific categories/themes prevalent in each group, but also looked at the differences in nuances in the descriptions by each group for a given category. This allowed me to create gender-relevant themes or categories.

*Step Four: Consideration of Developmental Capacity.* Lastly, I brought the self-authorship assessments provided in the Phase 2 summaries into the analysis in order to look for the roles of students' developmental capacities in the ways students approached and interpreted leadership experiences. As was discussed in Chapter 2, individual developmental capacity is likely to affect the ways in which college students approach and interpret college experiences since it forms students' understanding of their experiences. Consideration of developmental

capacity is also warranted in relation to the gender analysis. Previous literature documented that leadership is a gendered phenomenon, where women and men are subject to different expectations of how to practice leadership (Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Heilman, 2001; Heilman & Chen, 2005; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Perhaps the roles of developmental capacity in leadership experiences vary across gender because male and female students, under different expectations of leadership practices and styles, manage differently with similar college experiences.

With these theoretical presumptions in mind, I looked for patterns that suggests relationships between students' developmental capacity and their leadership experiences. I also used constant comparative methods to examine the role of students' developmental capacity in ways that students' approach and interpret their leadership experiences. I compared nuances within students' narratives across levels of meaning making by emergent categories. This comparative analysis yielded a set of themes regarding how students with varying levels of meaning making differently approached their leadership experiences. I also compared frequencies of emergent categories across and/or within meaning making levels. This allowed me to gain an understanding of patterns associated with emergent categories and meaning making levels.

### **Subjectivities**

I bring many personal assumptions and presuppositions to the analysis of the data. A central claim within the constructive qualitative research tradition is that data analysis implies the interpretation of others' experiences and perceptions through the researcher's own perspectives; thus, it is important to reflect on one's own subjectivities that could permeate the meanings constructed from the data. As such, I will disclose my own background, the



sensitizing conceptions that shape my perspectives, and how I sought to manage these sensitivities.

Before coming to the doctoral program, I was a student affairs researcher and practitioner in Yonsei University, a large private research university in South Korea. My major role was to develop and implement co-curricular programs for female students' leadership and career development. This institution was founded by American Presbyterian missionaries and grounded its educational mission in a Christian faith tradition that emphasizes service and social responsibility. Leadership education was a prominent educational focus, and leadership was defined in line with servant leadership that stresses serving the needs of others rather than one's own needs. Grounded in this ethos of leadership, I studied leadership theories that emphasized serving and sharing with others as a core element of leadership, and developed leadership education programs based on leadership models that highlighted authenticity, collaboration, and empowerment. This is one reason that I am strongly drawn to the concept of leadership as a collaborative relational process among those who want to make social change. Since I endorse relational and social justice oriented concepts of leadership, I may be tempted to privilege certain types of leadership learning (e.g., civic engagement, service learning) based on the values they reflect.

Second, I bring a strong feminist stance to the data analysis. I was involved in a female students' council during my undergraduate years, and have been immersed in feminist ideas and perspectives since my master's program at Yonsei University. As a student affairs professional, part of my work was to increase gender sensitivity among undergraduate students through incorporating feminist pedagogies into co-curricular activities and programs. I personally believe that feminism and feminist pedagogies have positive impacts in shaping students'

perspectives and values. As a result, I am likely to be more sensitive to educational practices that taught feminism and reflect feminist pedagogies.

Third, it is also relevant to note a number of other social identities that are salient to me and thus likely influence my perception of the world as well as the way others view me.

Originally coming from South Korea, I am an Asian female international student attending a large research university in the United States. I am a single. I was raised a Christian, and attended high school founded by American Methodist missionaries. I received my undergraduate and master's education in a large private institution, which offers a liberal arts education as compulsory courses for all the undergraduate students. During my undergraduate years, I studied history and English literature, two majors that are highly grounded in liberal arts education. These educational backgrounds equipped me with a strong inclination towards nobles oblige, the idea that people with advantage should help people in less privileged status, as a focus of leadership. Consequently, I may be more sensitized to leadership activities emphasizing the importance of social service and responsibility.

In the course of my data analysis, I tried my best to be alert to these sensitivities. I do not think that I am able to eliminate all these sensitizing concepts from my data analysis; in addition, within the constructive qualitative tradition, researchers' subjectivities are not something to be eliminated, but something to be acknowledged and managed. Therefore, I attempted to remain aware of my own subjectivities and keep them in check throughout the data analysis processes.

### **Limitations**

As with all research, there are a number of limitations that should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings of this study. The first limitation lies in the use of self-report data. All the experiences analyzed in this study were reported by students. Although the interview

protocol was designed to elicit a broad array of college experiences meaningful to student learning and development, students were not likely to report all the experiences promoting their learning and development (and there may not have been sufficient time in the interview to do so). Thus, experiences reported in this study did not likely generate a comprehensive list of students' college experiences related to students' leadership capacities.

Second, the use of secondary data sources was a broad limitation. The WNS collected data with a broader purpose than the assessment and the examination of students' leadership development. Although WNS identified leadership as one of seven liberal arts outcomes, used a relational definition of leadership, and assessed students' level of leadership capacities in the quantitative portion, leadership development was neither the focus nor the priority of the interview. Additionally, the interview protocol was designed to trigger students' meaningful responses relevant to the broad purposes of the study (i.e., developing the seven liberal arts outcomes and assessment of meaning-making), but does not contain a structured set of questions for each outcome. Consequently, findings should be regarded as a partial explanation that addresses the features of college experiences influencing students' leadership development.

Finally, gender analysis was not the focus of the WNS. Although the WNS sample was fairly balanced by gender, due to the variability in the salience of gender identity to the students, some interviews contained a wealth of data to access to students' situated knowledge while others provided very little information about their gendered positionality in interpreting their leadership experiences.

In spite of these limitations, the WNS interviews provide rich data that enables access to students' perceptions and interpretations of many different college experiences. The longitudinal, qualitative data of the WNS also provides a unique opportunity to examine students' learning

and development over time. I suggest that the data and the methodology described in this chapter offer a powerful set of tools for examining a complex phenomenon like leadership development.

## **Chapter 4. PRELUDE TO LEADERSHIP ENGAGEMENT**

One purpose of this study was to discover key features of students' leadership experiences occurring in many different collegiate contexts. Leadership, defined as "a relational process of people working together to accomplish positive common goals" (Astin, 1996; Astin & Astin, 2000; Komives et al., 2006), is situated within a collective group process, and thus presumes individuals' participating in a group activity. Subsequently, getting involved in a group or a campus organization serves as an entry point to leadership experiences. A review of students' narratives in this study also revealed that entry to a group was a first step towards leadership experiences. Here, leadership experiences represent both formal membership in an organization and temporary group affiliation such as participating in a study group, working in a service project, etc. Not surprisingly, the contexts of the group experiences were numerous, including academic clubs, identity or faith-based organizations, student government, media, theater, and orientation programs, to name a few. Regardless of the types of group experiences students were drawn to, students in this study demonstrated that their involvements were prompted by their prior experiences and other environmental factors.

An analysis of students' narratives revealed three antecedent factors affecting students' entry into a group activity: (1) students' predisposition towards leadership experiences, (2) students' notions of leadership, and (3) nudges that helped students to pull their attention to a

given leadership experience. Predisposition towards leadership experiences indicates students' sense of inclination towards these experiences which were largely informed by their precollege experiences. Students' predisposition represented the starting point of their journey into collegiate leadership experiences and also showed a constraining factor that potentially pulled them back from involvement into such kind of experiences. Notions of leadership which students brought to the college experiences were largely formulated by multiple precollege experiences such as participation in a student organization in high school, positional leadership, and observation of famous influential leaders in person or through media. Students' notions of leadership determined their initial approaches to a given leadership experience and also informs the types of challenges that they will possibly have through navigating a relational process of leadership. Lastly, nudges were factors that prompted students to act on their predispositions and enter into actual leadership experiences. These include both the intentional educational practices designed to motivate students to be engaged and the unintentional cues that are embedded in environments surrounding students. The following sections will illustrate these three categories regarding the prelude to leadership experiences. This chapter then summarizes these categories and concludes with a discussion of how these categories extend our understanding of students' leadership experiences.

### **Predisposition towards Leadership Experiences**

A review of students' narratives revealed that students arrived on college campus with a set of assumptions that predisposed them towards leadership experiences. Students had already gone through several years of education, participated in at least one leadership experiences, and also formed their expectations for a college education. At these students reported, their prior experiences and expectations for college life generated beliefs, which then disposed them

towards leadership experiences. Students in this study demonstrated three assumptions about a college life which predisposed them towards leadership experiences: (1) maximizing the benefits of college experiences, (2) balancing academic performance and involvement in leadership experiences, and (3) sustaining prior interests and activities. The following sections describe each theme in detail.

### **Maximizing the Benefits of College Experiences**

As early as their first year at college, students brought up a variety of group experiences they wanted to be part of, and discussed why these group involvements were important to them and related to their successful college life. Underlying their rationale was their belief that active involvement in leadership experiences was part of a successful college life, and was thus warranted to maximize the benefits of a college education. For example, Laura who had just arrived at her all women's college remarked on the importance of being part of organizations:

I mean because without organizations, they say if you're in an organization or participate in something, you do better in school. I do believe that.

Participating in an organization was part of Laura's formula for "doing better in school." She greatly appreciated the value of involvement when she was appointed to be a leader of a nationwide religious organization in high school. She learned persistence and was able to overcome her fear of speaking in front of a crowd. With this prior learning outside the classroom, she acquired the belief that organizational involvement was helpful for doing well in school.

Other students in this study also believed that group involvement was an important component for their successful college life. They reported that "being busy" and "getting involved" was a mark of their smooth transition to college. Thus, if their busyness or level of

group involvement fell short of their expectations, students felt an urge to be involved in a group, which was the case for Lucas, a first year student in an all-male college. In response to a question asking about his goals for the years to come, Lucas stated:

I guess get into more clubs, like become more involved. That's a big issue, just become more involved and also to study more. Like I honestly feel like I don't take advantage of that. I have so much free time now. I've done my work. I haven't really studied ALL as I should. ...but I just feel like half of it's just because I'm like I went over, why do I have to go over it again? Half of it's just like I'm on this medication. It's like I'm so drowsy. I don't want to do it again. ... It's a battle, but I just feel like if I can finally conquer that. I have a higher GPA, but also again I said I have a set level of expectation and if I really don't meet that, I don't really feel like I have the drive to do so. I think that's an issue also when I have so much time. I'm like I shouldn't be having this time. I should be crammed. I should be bashing my head because it's college...

Lucas' statement demonstrates not only his predisposition towards leadership experience, but also a sense of frustration caused by his insufficient involvement at the moment. In fact, he had to take medication and later underwent a surgery for his sleep apnea, which derailed him from joining a fraternity. Although he decided to de-pledge for his own well-being, he was frustrated because he failed to live up to "a set level of expectation" which evidently meant a busy, "crammed" college life with long hours of studying and being highly involved in clubs.

Notably, the majority of students in this study discussed their academic motivation, which was often associated with a targeted GPA or such comments as "being on the dean's list," "passing all the classes," or getting into somewhat competitive majors (e.g., pre-med, pre-law). However, these students voiced that although doing well academically was important, it was not



the sole factor for a good college life. Maggie, who just started her first year in a private university, epitomized this sentiment about academics.

My main goal is to stay on top of my work. Coming from a pretty small school to his size school with top students from all over the country, I was expecting to be really heavily challenged,... so I really want to stay on top of my work and get top grades, because as much as I'm spending and my parents are spending on an education here, I don't...I don't want to waste it. I want to get the most out of it, and also to kind of ease into getting involved in other things too. It demands... Being a student here is a full-time job, but you know, if...if you don't get into other things, I feel like you kind of don't get a group, so kind of explore... I don't want to take it too fast, but score a couple of extracurricular options this year and then kind of ease into it.

Strong academic motivation was clearly demonstrated in Maggie's comment; however, achieving a good academic record did not discharge her from all the responsibilities involving her "full-time job" as a student. She believed that in order to fulfill the responsibilities, she needed to "score a couple of extracurricular options." Ultimately, as she stated, Maggie took it slowly, but didn't forget her belief in the value of extracurricular activities; she joined the cheerleading squad in her second year, and continued to be actively involved through her third year.

Maggie's statement also revealed the foundation of her predisposition towards leadership experiences. She was conscious of the financial investment she and her family made for her college education. Mindful of the amount of this investment, her intention to participate in extracurricular activities stemmed from her desire to "get the most out of" her college education. In other words, Maggie wanted to maximize the return on her investment by extending her

involvement beyond academics. Similarly, students in this study shared that their predisposition towards joining clubs or doing some co-curricular activities was warranted for “getting the most out of” or “taking advantage of” college education.

Gavin, in his first year at a private university, illustrated the importance of getting involved in many things as regards to maximizing the benefits of college education. He said, ... because I think, uh, I’d like ta, I mean, meet more people, get out and like, socialize more and just, I don’t know, be involved in other things like, not only the service projects here which are kind of important to me, but, just like, other kind of athletic things, trying things. A lot of things are unique to campus life and being in college and I just want to take advantage of them because I only have four years, so, I really hate thinking about, “what if I did this? What if I did that?” Um, so, uh, just want to try some different things and not worry about school all the time.

Gavin’s predisposition towards getting involved was driven by his desire to “take advantage of” all the opportunities offered during four years at college. He was aware that his time at college was limited; thus, rather than being concerned about academics all the time, he wanted to expand the range of experiences he could have in college. He believed that group experiences such as service projects or sports clubs were a valuable part of the college experience.

Maximizing the benefits of a college education was one core belief that contributed to students’ predisposition towards leadership experiences. Students stated that they were drawn to a campus organization or other co-curricular activities as a way of increasing the return on their investment. The underlying assumption here is that a college education is more than getting classroom learning and encompasses social development.

With this belief, students believed that they needed to be involved in outside the classroom as much as inside to have a successful collegiate career. This belief, in turn, pulled students' attention towards various campus group activities.

### **Sustaining Prior Interests**

Another disposition that was shared among these students was the sentiment of sustaining their prior activities of interests. Throughout the prior school years, students had already experienced many different activities and were aware of what was of interest to them or what they were good at. Students were drawn to a campus organization or co-curricular activities that would provide them with needed opportunities for pursuing their interests or sharpening skills that they considered important to their sense of self. For example, among 39 students sampled for this study, a third ( $n=13$ ) who had experienced positional leadership in high school voiced the desire to sharpen their leadership skills and reinforce their self-image as a leader by joining a campus organization and conducting a leadership role. Olivia was one of these students who had held a leadership experience in high school, and revealed her predisposition when she discussed her goals and expectations for a four-year co-educational college during her first year interview.

...in high school I was definitely part of everything else, I was cheerleading captain, I was student body president, I was president of other things also, so that aspect, leadership aspect is something that's always been very important to me, I feel, feel like, it's a strong, it's a very strong characteristic that I have that not everyone else has, and it's something that I really have passion for, so, definitely I plan to get involved with that. I feel as though, getting really involved, I don't know, it just makes, it, I like being really busy, and that helps me to do even better in school. I have no idea what the relationship is there

but it always has, maybe it's because I'm doing something that I really enjoy and then it just makes me in a better mood.

Olivia believed that “getting really involved” and “being really busy” would help her “to do even better in school,” which evidenced her belief in maximizing the benefits of college education through involvement in leadership experiences on campus. In addition, her statement demonstrated her desire to develop her leadership skills. Having experienced a number of leadership positions in high school, she believed that the “leadership aspect” was very important to her sense of self, making herself distinctive from other peers. Given this strong self-concept as a leader, she was predisposed not only towards organizational involvements, but also towards positional leadership in college. In fact, Olivia joined student government and also tested a leadership position there, thinking that “it's going to be my thing again here in college.” As this example shows, Olivia's predisposition towards leadership and collective efforts were also derived from her prior experience in leadership and her self-image as a leader.

The prior experiences informed students whether or not they were good at certain activities. This knowledge about one's own skills and competencies provided a foundation for students' perceived self-concepts, and predisposed them toward having other activities or experience that are similar in nature. Devin who demonstrated this pattern was a high school class president and considered the leadership aspect as important to his sense of self. He also displayed a strong desire to sustain his leader image through group experiences and involvement in positional leadership when he talked about his expectations for his college education.

Expectation wise, the whole leadership thing is kind of my big deal, so coming out of [name of high school], I was student council president and stuff like that so they expect me to do pretty well here with the whole leadership stuff. I don't think I've found my

niche there yet ... Like right now, you kind of feel like you're at the bottom of the totem pole and you just work and work and work and not get anywhere almost. I'll have more time to get more involved and actually come through on those expectations, but it's just kind of tough getting involved in everything right now.

Devin's predisposition toward leadership experiences was tied to "leadership thing." He had experienced positional leadership in high school, was conscious that he was viewed as a leader in high school, and then expected to develop further his leadership qualities in college. Devin's conceptualization of leadership was hierarchical, tied to positions of power and authority. This working concept of leadership predisposed him particularly towards leadership positions, which he found to be not feasible at the moment considering his status as a first-year student. However, his desire to keep his leader image and sharpen his leader skills predisposed him towards leadership experiences.

Besides positional leadership, other experiences in high school such as service and sports also affected students' predisposition towards leadership experiences. For example, students who had prior service experiences demonstrated their willingness to get involved in service projects or in clubs that would lead to volunteer activities. Juliana, a first year student in a co-educational campus, exemplified how her prior service experiences influenced her predisposition towards leadership experiences in college. In response to a question about her goals and hopes for her college career, he said:

I want to do a lot of more volunteer work because that's something that... I feel like I'm in such a ... I have such an opportunity in this position coming here and with some of the skills that I have that I could do a lot more to help the community and develop good friendships and have a good time. (I: So tell me a little bit more about volunteering...the

background there?) I'm really into things in Africa. Like Darfur and Northern Uganda – the children...the invisible children there. And when I was in high school, I did a fundraiser for Ugandan children, for three girls ... And it was just really amazing to think that \$300 could send a girl to high school. Room and board and food and everything for a year. And that's the safest place for her in Uganda because they have so many abductions at night, and so I really want to get more involved in trying to do things with that as well. (I: So how do you think your involvement in things like that affects you?) ... coming to a school like this, a lot of people have a lot of money and they're...value a lot of materialistic things and... I mean, I do as well, but I really...I try to give my money to organizations that will help children in Uganda and Sudan.

As she illustrated, Juliana was involved in fund-raiser for African school girls with other peers in high school. This experience prompted her to reflect on own privilege of getting higher education in a well-to-do environment. This sense of privilege learned through prior service experience led her to keep looking for opportunities to help and serve less privileged others. Her search resulted in her service at a homeless shelter in her first year; she later identified this as her most important experience during the year.

Participating in sports activities was also highly sought by many students who had positive experiences in high school athletic teams. Melinda, a student in a private co-educational college, introduced herself as a competitive runner and displayed a strong disposition to continue her running experience in college. Asked why her cross-country experience was important to her, she explained:

I've been running since I was in middle school, so running has always been a big part of my life. It's my way to escape my everyday problems, I guess, and it fills me with

strength whenever I'm feeling sad or uncertain of the things that I do. So running I guess is like my therapy. ... (I: How do you make sense of that?) I guess just—I guess I see it like my successes in running have helped me be a stronger person to become I guess—to learn how to help other people as well.

Melinda got involved and interested in running in junior high school. In high school, she was introduced to a cross-country team by a physical education teacher who recognized her talents in running and strongly encouraged her to try this sport. She proved to be successful in this, and joined her college cross-country team as soon as she arrived at campus. As she explained, running was a big part of her life, provided her with a source of peace, helped her to break out her shyness, and build a competitive edge. It turned out to be that other members of her team were not as highly motivated or successful as she expected; however, she chose to stay as running was significant to her sense of self.

As illustrated by four students' narratives, sustaining prior interests was one thread that constructed students' predisposition and pulled them strongly to leadership experiences. Prior experiences played a critical role in choosing types of college experiences. Students who had positive experiences in leadership and collective processes in high school demonstrated the desire to continue the activities that provided such great enjoyment and a sense of achievement. This sentiment of continuing their activities of interest constructed one component of students' predisposition towards leadership experiences.

### **Balancing Academic Performance with Leadership Experiences**

Students' narratives also revealed that they wanted to balance academic performance with leadership experiences. While the first two sentiments function as a force that pulled students' attention towards leadership experiences, their desire to balance academic and

leadership experiences worked as a controlling force that strained their desire to overstretch themselves over too many campus organizations. It is important to note that, unlike the first two sentiments, this sentiment is more evident in those students who were once highly involved in many activities in high school than among those who did not have such intense involvements; 9 out of 39 students in this study were highly involved in leadership activities in high school and expressed caution at being too much involved. These students were cautious about over-extending themselves and stated that they would hold off making too many commitments until they fully navigated the new environment and achieved a satisfactory level of academic performance.

Franny was one of these students; she took a number of leadership roles in high school and expected to join a number of clubs to test out collegiate leadership opportunities. Here, she stated her desire to get the best of college education, yet displayed her caution towards over-committing herself.

I've joined the pre-med club, the choir, and I'm also on the [the name of institution] College Choir, the school choir, and I'm also on Young Democrats Club, and I plan on joining a couple more clubs as we go. I hope, I held leadership at... In high school, I was band captain, president of the National Honor Society, business manager for student council, and was also secretary for junior council, so later on in the year, I'll decide whether I want to do a leadership, because I'm here for school, and I don't want to get too much on my plate. I want to balance it out. I learned in high school, you can't do everything, so I knew when I came here I wasn't going to try to be involved in everything and hold a leadership in everything. So, I'm going to do my part at [name of College B].



Franny was disposed to trying out a number of clubs as a continuation of her highly involved high school experience. Her high school experience not only instilled her with motivation towards leadership experiences, but also made her aware of the risks of over-commitment. As she noted above, Franny believed that she was “here for school” and the priority should be given to academics rather than extracurricular involvements. As a result, she was cautious at “getting too much on her plate” and tried to have a balance between her academics and extracurricular activities.

Caution about being over-committed affected the pace at which students joined, made commitments to, or took on increasing responsibilities in the group. At an early stage of their undergraduate careers, students in this study wanted to first get their academics on track and then extend themselves to extracurricular activities. Instead of making full commitments, students chose to “dip their hands in” extracurricular activities, which would provide a point of entry into the group. Amber’s approach demonstrated this cautious, calculated step to making commitments. She stated why she chose a secondary leadership role in student government in her first year.

(I: You mentioned that you were really involved when you were in high school. Have you joined a lot of things since you’ve arrived on campus?) Not, not yet because I’m trying to take the same approach I did in high school. First year I just look, I observe everything. Just look and see what’s going on, what’s different clubs you can get into, and then my tenth grade year I get active and active and active and all that type of stuff. But this year, Oh, I ran for student government secretary. So I’m freshman class secretary now. ... So it’s pretty good. And I wanted to take it slow because I can’t just jump out the gate trying to do everything. So I need to see what I know I was going to

like. And so, I, the reason why I chose for secretary because I thought about running for president ... I think being a secretary would help me get involved, but not too involved where I cannot focus on my studies because that's a big responsibility. So, I would just go up, like I did in high school. Just, level by level.

Amber's "level by level" approach epitomized students' strategy of balancing academics and extra-curricular involvements. Amber was aware that she needed to first "focus on her studies" and then tried out other involvements. In order to allow herself enough time and energy to focus on studies, she held herself back from taking a full stride into the student government and serving a most demanding position there. She also stepped back and became a careful observer of everything, checking opportunities available on campus.

For some students, this observer period took more than a year as they tried to figure out what they enjoyed, what they were good at, and how much they could manage. In a sense, self-awareness was a prerequisite for identifying and settling down and finding one's own niche on campus. Franny ambitiously tried out several organizations in her first year, as described above. However, it took first two years for her to sift the activities that worked really for her from other peripheral activities. She indicated how she ended up getting more involved now than her first two years.

Yes. My first two years I really wasn't involved in a lot of organizations. I spent a lot of time just getting to know who I – I was, just seeing what worked for me, what study habits worked for me. ... and just learning more about myself my first two years and now I have a better grasp of who I am now. I can get involved in more things and I know how much I can manage and how much I can deal with now.

Contrary to her ambitious start, Franny was unable to be heavily involved in any of the groups that she had listed earlier in her first two years of college. She needed this dormant time to get a better grasp on who she was and to figure out what study habits worked for her. In her third year, she was able to assess her capacity for these competing interests and be involved in more than her studies.

Time and energy were limited resources and inevitably need to be balanced among many competing responsibilities. Students were aware that they should not overload themselves, although they had quite a long list of activities that they wanted to try out. Furthermore, students in this study consistently put academics above group involvements, and wanted to ensure satisfactory academic performance. For this reason, balancing between academic performance and extra-curricular responsibilities was prerequisite for students to freely pursue their desire towards leadership experiences.

Managing time was a constant battle for many students, even after students made commitments to a number of clubs, organizations, or other extracurricular activities. Students struggled with performing multiple responsibilities and faced other questions of what to prioritize among many commitments that they already made. Aiden was one such student. He was an ambitious, hard-working student who wanted to experience as many things as possible from college education. In his second year, he indicated his challenge of managing many different responsibilities.

(I: What kind of prompted you to have that goal of wanting to take stock of priorities?) I tend to overwork myself quite a bit and just in the sense of like I have 5 ½ courses this semester when the normal is about 4 so I have a full course load and I work two jobs and I'm in two ensembles and I'm in a couple clubs, so it just all piles up after a while. And

in between classes, I'll just think to myself, wow, what am I really doing here? Why am I at [college name]? Am I here just to be a smiling face in this club or am I here to get the quality education that I signed up for and take advantage of the school as to what they have to offer and be prepared for the future? Just like small prioritizing and stuff. But at the same time, I want to maintain a balance because if I go all academics and just cut off the extra-curriculars, then that cuts out my ensembles and stuff and then I'm not able to use the music side of my brain or my life so to speak and that would just be like a drag so to speak.

Aiden's statement demonstrated a tension of dealing with multiple responsibilities. He was aware that he was overloaded at this point, and should unload some of his responsibilities. Despite the packed schedule, he wanted to stay in all these activities because he believed that they provided different tastes of college education other than academics. In his third year, he revisited his priority issue and explained how he strategized his engagement.

Well everything that I was involved in for my second year I was also involved in for my first year. And second semester my freshman year, I let myself get really involved in all these organizations and so as I found that my academic schedule became more intense. I still wanted to be part of these groups that I was involved with, but I took less of an important role in each group was mostly how I combatted that problem.

Unable to give up any of activities to which he had made commitments, Aiden switched back from "let myself get really involved in all these organizations" to "took less of an important role in each group." He chose to spread himself thinly across different organizations rather than making a full commitment to a selective few organizations.

For many students, being involved too little was perceived as being as bad as having too much on one's plate. As noted by students' belief in maximizing the benefits of college education, students demonstrated predispositions towards being involved in campus organizations or co-curricular activities. Being left with free time or having too little involvement was thus unsatisfactory to these students who felt the need to "make best use of my college education." Maggie's experience demonstrated this sentiment. Her prior experience in high school cheerleading had her initially interested in college cheerleading; however, the cheerleading program at her institution does not admit first-year students because of the ground rule that freshman year is reserved for academic adjustment. Subsequently, Maggie, who had stated her expectation about college education earlier in this chapter, was left with only the academics on her plate. She spoke how having too much free time made her time management ineffective.

I had so much free time and I would still not get my work done. I'd leave it until the last minute and, it's gross the number of hours of television I watched last year because I could. But now having cheerleading, it adds so much more structure to my schedule and I only have a certain amount of hours available to do my homework so I do my homework in those hours. And you never know when something else is going to come up so I don't leave things until the last minute, which for the first time in my life is happening because I'm always a last-minute person.

Contrary to the stated intent of the ground rule, Maggie's use of her time was neither academic nor efficient. She procrastinated and was unable to use her time in a structured way. Getting involved in cheerleading in her second year helped her to structure her time and stop being "a last-minute person." It is important to note that cheerleading required four nightly practices

during the week and weekend time at games during the season; it was a major time commitment. However, she reported reaped more benefit than harm from this involvement despite the increased commitment of her time and energy. She not only was able to use her time in an efficient way, but also felt satisfied with the sense of involvement on campus in general.

It appears that finding an optimal level of engagement is crucial for students who were eager to participate in leadership experiences. Students were all juggling academics and their involvements in leadership experiences. Although academic performance took priority, students voiced their desire to also participate in campus organizations and co-curricular activities as a way to have balance in their lives. These students appear to understand the proverb “all work no play makes Jack a dull boy,” and wished to have an academic-social life balance on campus. With this desire towards balance, deciding an optimal level of involvement is important as it would allow them to better juggle multiple responsibilities.

### **Pre-collegiate Notions of Leadership**

An analysis of students’ narratives also revealed students’ working definitions of leadership. Acquired and refined through prior experiences of leadership, these definitions of leadership guided students in how to behave in leadership positions or what they needed to do to become a better leader. Andrew was one of these students who acted on his working definition of leadership and was thinking about group involvements along this line.

... competitiveness leads to better grades, better performance, better, more leadership, and just, it attributes to so many things in my life. (I: Where do you see yourself being a leader, right now?) Right now? Well, I try to be, because of the small classroom setting, I couldn’t do this at [the name of the larger neighboring state university] or something like that. I always try to be a classroom leader. (I: What does it mean to be a classroom

leader?) .. Oh, no, no, classroom leader, I, I mean it's not so much a definition, but, a classroom leader is, somebody who is not afraid to say something in class, somebody who's not afraid to show their opinion, even if it is completely different from what the professor is saying, they're not afraid to say anything. That's the difference between leading and following. Following is just that person in the seat saying, "Oh," but not really interacting with anybody. (I: Other ways that you see yourself as a leader here?)

Well, I want to join a couple [of] teams here.

Alex described himself as having "a competitive spirit," which allowed him to achieve good grades, good performance in sports, and leadership. Notably, he defined leadership by reference to agentic traits such as assertiveness, confidence, directing, and aggressiveness. Defined as such, leadership came together with his competitive edge. In his first year, he did not yet find his group or team where he could be a leader. However, he tried to be an opinion leader in his classroom as a way to sustain and reinforce his leader identity.

Like Alex, students who experienced positional leadership in high school conceptualized leadership as related to influencing others to act, and thus required a range of assertive characteristics for effectively performing leadership roles. Students also implied that there is a strict distinction between leaders and followers, and stated that the leadership tasks were confined to the leaders' responsibilities. They believed that the success of the group work was dependent on leaders' abilities to organize the group tasks as well as to mobilize other group members to work on the tasks. Franny, who introduced herself as a highly active student in high school, articulated this leader-centric conceptualization of leadership.

I'll decide whether I want to do a leadership, because I'm here for school, and I don't want to get too much on my plate. I want to balance it out. I learned in high school, you

can't do everything, so I knew when I came here I wasn't going to try to be involved in everything and hold a leadership in everything. ... (I: What do you like about leadership positions?) When you hold a leadership position, you are able to voice your opinion and you're able to keep thing[s] organized and on track, and I hate disorganization. Even though I'm a little disorganized at times, I hate when programs and committees and organizations are not organized, because it makes people not want to be a part. You want to give off a good impression to make them want to come in. So, that's one thing why I like leadership.

Prior positional leadership experiences in high school disposed Franny towards leadership positions in college, and also helped her to measure up the responsibilities involved in leadership roles. To her, leaders were expected to "voice your opinion" and "be able to keep thing[s] organized on track." Her leadership responsibilities also included mobilizing others to "want to be a part" of an organization through "giving off a good impression" to others. All these responsibilities or authorities that Franny endorsed as leaders are associated with assertive attributes, and assumed a clear distinction between leaders and followers. With this definition in mind, Franny was cautiously weighing the benefits of taking on another positional leadership in college.

### **Gender-related Pattern in Pre-collegiate Notions of Leadership**

While the leader-centric view of leadership that emphasized assertive attributes of leaders was shared among students in this study, there was a gender-related pattern in students' conceptualization of leadership. Among 9 students who shared their notions of leadership in their first year interviews, four out of five female students highlighted the importance of leaders' roles for fairly listening to followers' opinions in a leadership and collective process. Typically,



female students talked about the value of “listening to others” and being inclusive of others’ demands in a decision making. Jacky, another former leader, exemplified this theme when she illustrated her college choice process and shared her definition of leadership.

...And [the name of institution], they’re good at producing female leaders. So I’m like, “Okay.” (I: What is leadership to you right now?) Leadership. We haven’t really discussed that in our classes yet, but leadership to me is knowing how to be a leader but knowing how to listen, too. Because if you don’t know how to listen, then that’s not really being a leader. Because when you’re a leader, you have more than one person to consider. And how can you consider everyone else if you’re not going to listen to what they have to say? And trying to make the best decision you can for everyone else, even if they may not think it’s the right decision...

Jacky’s list of high school involvements was also extensive, including student government president, cheerleading, being on an athletic team, etc. She was drawn to this all-female college specifically for its advertised emphasis on leadership education. In her first year, she was exposed to a co-curricular program that taught about female leadership. At the time of this particular interview, she had not yet learned many different definitions of leadership; instead, she shared her working definition that was acquired through her previous experiences of leadership. Her definition of leadership reflected a leader-centric view. Like Alex and Franny, she emphasized that the roles of leaders are distinctive from those of followers; that is, leaders should listen to others’ opinions for making the right decision. Jacky’s statement also demonstrated her interpersonal concerns for leaders’ work representing the group. Although she was aware that pleasing everybody might not be feasible at all times, she felt that good listening was mandated to take everybody into consideration and being fair to the members in the group.

Franny held a similar view. Her statement presented above demonstrated her concept of leadership that made a distinction between leaders and followers. She also discussed the value of “listening to other people’s opinion” when asked about the qualities of a good leader:

What does it mean to be a good leader...? To be [a good leader means] to listen to other people’s opinion. You cannot always be right. You have to listen to what other people have to say, too. They bring ideas to the table to make it better. So you have to be open-minded. You have to be understanding, and you have to have, if you have friends in the organization, you can’t play favorites with them. You have to be stern and strict in everything. You have to be balanced. You can’t favor one person than other.

Franny emphasized the importance of listening to and understanding people’s opinions in order to accurately convey the group’s opinions as part of the decision making process. She also pointed to the value of being fair and balanced as important qualities for a good leader. Underlying these qualities for a good leader was the acknowledgement that leaders “cannot always be right.” Like Jacky, Franny believed that leaders were responsible for voicing opinions and making decisions on behalf of the group and thus needed to be attentive to others’ needs.

While female students emphasized the importance of attending to others’ needs or listening to others’ opinions, all four male students who stated their notions of leadership noted that an important task of leaders was motivating others to work for the group goal. In this way, male students stated the value of taking initiative in a group as a way to set the example to the followers. Xavier’s approach illustrates this theme. He stated that he had learned many of leadership qualities at a boy scout camp where he had worked for five summers, first as a volunteer and then as a staff member. He identified his boy scout staff experience as a source of his confidence in his interpersonal and leadership skills. He shared his definition of leadership:

...the [leadership] ability, for me, the ability to... (pause) It [has] multiple levels, but part of it is the ability to help other people to bring to, I don't know, to bring up their potential, that's not exactly what I'm going for, but it's...so that they can...to help other people learn what I know, ...I'm trying to not use the word 'lead', but to lead projects or whatever processes we're doing, to lead them in a way that people want to follow them and are willing to be led, because I know a lot of times people who are thrown into leadership positions and don't know what they're doing get a lot of digging [in] heels and you know people don't want to follow, so I like to think I'm good at leading and people want to follow.

Like the other students stated above, Xavier appeared to preserve a strict line between leader and follower. He assumed that leadership was associated with position and thus leaders were required to take more responsibility than followers. Xavier's approach to leadership tasks was different from the approach described above by women: he saw a leader's role more as an instigator than as a coordinator. Subsequently, he highlighted leaders' abilities to "bring up other people's potentials" and "lead them in a way that people want to follow." In contrast to female students' approaches, Xavier highlighted mobilizing others to achieve shared tasks rather than correctly representing their opinions in a group process.

Ken also revealed this approach to leadership that emphasized the importance of motivating others. Like many other students in this study, he had leadership experience in his high school student council. His identification as a leader also came from his being the first-born among four brothers. He expected to develop his leadership skills in college through getting involved in leadership experiences. Ken revealed his approach to good leadership when asked what he had learned from his high school leadership experience.

Yeah, I think how to motivate others I think. How to let them know what to do without making them really angry at you, I guess. Let's see, as class president, it was staying on top of your things and looking for outside resources I guess because you had to be creative when you don't have a lot of money from prom and things like that. We did pretty well. Other things were just staying on top of what you have to do and trying not to fall behind.

Like Xavier, Ken acknowledged the importance of getting others involved in the group process. He was sensitive to followers' reaction and cautioned at not making his followers angry at him. However, he was aware that leaders should motivate others to do the work. This sentiment is different from what was heard from female students; they emphasized collecting others' opinions and then working themselves to address these demands. Although Ken acknowledged the work that leaders should do, this work was not based on group members' needs, but geared towards achieving the goal or accomplishing the tasks. To summarize, women and men in this study demonstrated different approaches to the leadership process. Female students demonstrated responsiveness to others' opinions and believed that they were responsible for serving group members. Male students saw their responsibility as a leader as motivating or helping others to work in the group process to accomplish the common goal. Men appeared to be sensitive to others' feelings in the belief that causing emotional tensions would make it difficult to engage others in the process.

A gender-related pattern emerged with regard to students' approaches to leadership tasks. Female students, more than male students, highlighted the importance of listening to others and taking a fair stance in doing a leadership work. In comparison, male students tended to focus on the group goal and emphasized motivating others as a core task of leaders. This pattern is not

strictly gender-divided; however, as exemplified in the examples presented above, “listening to others” was emphasized by women while “motivating others for the achievement of the goals” was dominant in the narratives provided by male students.

### **Prompts to Leadership and Collective Efforts**

Students in this study talked about a number of features of experiences that prompted them to turn their predispositions into action, here, participation in groups. These were conveyed to students as forms of encouragements, pushes, or even pressures to join a campus organization or co-curricular activities. There are many ways to organize these prompts; here, I organized them by the type of source that provided the prompts. Two categories emerged: intentional educational practices and peer influences. The following section will discuss each of these more in detail.

#### **Intentional Educational Practices**

Educational practices that prompted students to join campus organizations or try co-curricular activities were numerous, including campus-wide emphasis on student leadership development, leadership minors, and co-curricular seminars and conferences, to name a few. Practices such as these that were designed to promote student leadership qualities contributed to sustaining students’ interests in and joining campus organizations. To illustrate, students’ narratives revealed that these leadership educational practices influenced them by rekindling their passion or interests in leadership, instilling new concepts of leadership, and providing a venue for networking with peers who shared similar interests or passion. Laura, who started her collegiate career in an all-female college, reconfirmed the importance of developing leadership when she saw that leadership education was emphasized campus-wide. She stated the prompts that gave her this reaffirmation when asked about her college choice.

Because it builds on leadership, and that's what I was looking for since I've participated in so many activities when I was in high school that there were leadership, I decided to come here because this school builds on leadership. (I: How do you know that?)

Through the different activities that we did during the fall orientation. I mean the different organizations they have here. (I: Why is leadership important?) Because without leadership, then you know we're in a world of young men, leaders, you know women are doing amazing things this century, amazing things. And leadership is the main point of that.

Leadership was already a meaningful aspect to Laura's sense of self; she was involved in multiple group activities in high school and had positional leadership experiences. Her statement also hints at her predisposition towards leadership experiences. She chose the school based on the leadership education it provided, and felt the need to sharpen her leadership skills. What turned her predisposition into motivation to act was the ethos of the campus that emphasized leadership development as a core mission. Her strong desire to develop her leadership skills was reinforced and reaffirmed by being involved in leadership activities during the orientation as well as the prominence of leadership education on campus.

This organization-wide emphasis on leadership education not only strengthened students' predisposition, but it also awakened students' motivation toward these types of activities. Franny's story exemplified this case; she had already held leadership positions in her high school, but she felt uncomfortable expressing her opinions in a group as well as claiming herself as a leader. However, she felt empowered to learn leadership skills in college. She stated what helped her change her attitude towards leadership development.

At this school, they really talk about leadership and just taking charge and doing what you need to do here, and that was something I needed to learn. I mean, I knew it, but I needed more of it. ... Just to have more courage to do things that I didn't want to do, because I used to be shy. There... I talked, but there were things that I wanted to say. I was like, "No, I'm not going to say it." But here I've learned, speak your opinions, speak your mind, say what you have to say. And it's been a really good experience. I'm learning a lot here.

Coming to the college where leadership development was a prominent theme, Franny felt encouraged to develop her leadership capacity and fill in the gaps that she felt lacking in her leadership qualities. With this intention in her mind, she actively tried a number of group involvements, and in her third year, took a leadership position in one of these groups.

In cases where students reinforced their predisposition towards leadership development, it was often accompanied by a new understanding of leadership concepts. Students who had prior leadership experiences in high school initially conceptualized leadership as reserved for those who take a leadership position. With this understanding of leadership that preserves a strict line between leader and follower, students decreased their confidence in their own abilities to lead because they were relocated to the bottom of the hierarchy when surrounded by upper-class (i.e., junior and senior level) students. New leadership concepts that emphasized relational aspects of leadership (e.g., service to others, congruence in relationships, emphasizing collaboration) were liberating and refueled students' desire to learn and then do leadership. Chloe, self-identified Christian student, had not conceptualized leadership in relational terms. To her, it was something associated with the position or responsibilities she had to do as an official leader in the group. In college, she was exposed to a new concept of leadership that

highlights such personal qualities as authenticity, honesty, and confidence. Here, Chloe remarked what she liked about this new concept of leadership.

They've reinforced that this world needs leaders, and it needs just leaders. In every class you've heard about plagiarism and everything like that, and I'm glad that they reinforce stealing is just wrong and it's not acceptable, and to be an efficient leader you need to be honest and you need to be courageous. Like the four C's of leadership, courageous and commitment and confidence and competence, you need to have those four things, which will lead to other things to make you stronger, just influence, and leader in this world, and so I really like how they do that, how they incorporate that into every little thing.

In fact, this new leadership concept emphasizing integrity in relations was in line with her Christian morals that emphasized integrity, honesty, and controversy with manner and civility. Seeing the alignment between her values and what the college emphasized in leadership development, Chloe felt encouraged and motivated to "incorporate" these leadership qualities into "every little thing" she would be doing.

Olivia is another student who had a chance to rethink her leadership concepts. When asked about the meaning of being in leadership positions, she demonstrated her changed thoughts on leadership.

...I really enjoy the idea of serving others, and I like being able to initiate and motivate others and empower others because I think at the core of being a leader, you need to be able to empower others and give them the skills to do things that they might not otherwise have been able to do. I think those are the reasons why I really enjoy leadership, and it's kind of now that I'm in the leadership class, I'm looking at different ways to tailor my leadership to really assure that it maintains



at its core and at its foundation ethics and social responsibility. ... I think that it was just something that I learned [in college]. In high school, I don't think I necessarily had that philosophy [of leadership]. You know, a lot of times in high school, you do things because this is going to look good for college, or I knew I always had that end goal in mind, but I really did like serving other people, and I did – I really – I liked the challenge of being able – working with people, whether it be a difficult interaction or not. So, I think it wasn't until I came to [name of the institution], and [name of the institution] is such a service oriented school and the fact that they really emphasized the Catholic school tradition that I really realized that leadership is a method of empowering people, and it – done the right way and not for internal reasons. You can really make a difference with someone by leadership if you're not doing it for selfish reasons.

Leadership was one of the salient pieces to her identity as she was highly involved in multiple group activities and held leadership roles in high school. However, as she confessed, she did not necessarily have “philosophy” of leadership; that is, she just did leadership roles according to the conventional understanding. Although she felt that serving others was important, this concept of serving others was rarely in sync with leadership. Ultimately, she learned the new meaning of leadership as a tool for empowering people, which was inspired by the school’s emphasis on social justice and social responsibility.

Students also talked about the prompts that they received from intentional educational practices in relation to networking with peers. Students shared that they met and were able to build relationships with peers who had similar interests or passions through leadership seminars, coursework, or other training programs. Interacting with similar others was encouraging and,

sometimes even motivating, as students saw similar others work on things that they thought hard, difficult, or even impossible. Eventually, the sentiment shared among similar others helped students to reinforce their predisposition towards leadership experiences and to join or even start a new group on campus. Natalie was one such student who was to revive her interests in environmental clubs. Influenced by her father, she already had deep interests in environmental issues when she first came to college. She tested several clubs, but was unable to find her niche in any of these clubs. Here, she remarked how she rekindled her interests and became involved in establishing a new environmental club on campus.

I tried to do some environmental clubs when I got to college. We have something called “Students for Environmental Action at University D and so I did that for a little bit and I wasn’t really getting much out of it and because I didn’t feel like we were doing much. I felt like it was one of those you just go to the meetings and then leave, but, actually, this fall, I went on this seminar through our Center for Social Concerns and they do a lot of volunteer seminars where you go to poorer places, like go to Appalachia and help clean up things and things like that. But I did one that went to D.C. and it was called Energy Policy of the Environment and Social Change. And it was really neat. We spent the whole week talking to senators and NGOs and the EPA, CERC, like different energy environmental organizations within D.C. and just talked to a whole bunch of them. There were ten of us that went and it was kind of empowering because, and we came back and a lot of these, we’re kind of starting up a lot of groups on campus. And there hadn’t been much awareness even the year before, but I guess the awareness of the country in terms of environmental and energy things has really picked up in the past year, but it has definitely reflected that on our campus and we started up a few clubs, like tried to do

some initial events that we wanted to do more often now and it was really empowering because it was exciting to see that other people care and want to do stuff about it, too. It made me not feel so alone in that, so that was exciting.

Natalie was disappointed with the quality of activities that the existing environmental clubs offered. Subsequently, she had drifted away from campus environmental clubs and remained independent with her persistent interests in environmental issues. By attending the nationally-organized environmental seminar, she found allies and thus rekindled her passion towards group involvements. Together with peers she met at the seminar, she helped initiate an environmental club on campus and planned a number of events. These experiences, as she shared, were “empowering” because they made her “not feel so alone” and “see that other people care and want to do stuff.” To Natalie, this sense of alliance with other peers, thus, provided a springboard for another takeoff into group involvements.

Intentional educational practices played important roles in encouraging students to participate in leadership experiences. They helped students to awaken their passion towards leadership experiences by changing their working definitions of leadership and bringing together a group of peers who can work together in a collective effort for a greater good. It is important to note that for the reasons stated above, intentional practices appeared to have the most impact for those students who almost [lost?] their appetite towards leadership experiences or felt unconvinced of their leadership competencies. Many of these students (e.g. Franny, Olivia) became empowered to be involved in leadership by nudges they got from many different intentional practices on campus.

## Peer Influence

Another theme that emerged regarding prompts to leadership experiences was peer influences that prompted students to join and sustain commitment to leadership experiences. Peers were the sources of information as well as pressure as students tried out various collegiate experiences, and the talked about a peer culture that nudged them to attend activities prevalent on campus. For example, there were 80% students in Greek system in Wabash College, while many students in University D were involved in service learning. These prevalent activities or educational experiences generated a peer culture that encouraged students to be involved in these types of leadership experiences. In other words, students felt pressured to do what “everybody does” on their campus.

Devin’s experience exemplifies someone who “went with the flow” and was able to achieve what he hoped for by doing so. Devin was very adamant in developing his leadership qualities. Being a student council president in high school, he was strongly motivated toward taking a positional leadership role in college. While testing a number of campus organizations as potential leadership sites, he decided to pursue leadership opportunities in a fraternity. Here, he states why he chose the fraternity.

Okay, one of the biggest things is someone told me if you’re independent [haven’t joined in fraternity] you’re kind of a loser or you miss out on a lot. It just kind of played on me. I don’t know if that’s necessarily true or not, but it was his viewpoint and I kind of took it. A few years ago I guess, I don’t know if it’s true or not. Somebody else told me that 70 percent of the campus was in the fraternity and 30 percent were in dorms, so it’s kind of heavily weighted on 70 percent.

His pledging into the fraternity was influenced by peers who whispered that this was a safe way to be successful college life and to avoid being a “loser.” Although his initial plan did not include pledging a fraternity, he joined and survived the challenging and stressful pledging process. In addition, as a way to fulfill one of his college plans (to develop leadership qualities), he became pledge class president in his first year. He also wanted to take a bigger role (being treasurer) in his second year as a step to moving upward on the leadership ladder.

Peer influences not only reinforced or awakened students’ desire to be involved in leadership experiences, but it also reshaped or shifted students’ motivation towards the types of leadership experiences. Peers served as sources of information and conveyed a culture of a given institutions to the students. For this reason, some students changed their expectation towards their institutions and opened their eyes to different types of activities in which they had not previously been much interested. Gavin was one of these students who arrived at college with different motivations than his peers. Gavin’s expectation for the institution was academic rigor and good career outlook rather than increasing service and social justice attitudes, which were hugely emphasized in his institution. Gavin was very clear that his education is “an investment in himself,” which was not like his peers’ expectations.

If I’m spending so much money to come to school here, I feel like I should make some money coming out (laughs). It’s like an investment in myself, but other people would definitely disagree with me here on campus. I’ve met some people who are here because they believe that [name of institution] is like really socially concerned with things and that’s what they’re really into. And I’ve gotten that perspective as well and that’s like why they came here, so I came here because it’s a great academic institution and I like

the school. Other people came here because they're looking to do, get into more to service and learn how to serve the world better which is like great.

In his second year, it appeared that Gavin felt conflicted between his original intention and what others expected from the institution. Later, he commented that he also wanted to find some service opportunities. Surrounded by many peers who were engaged in community service, Gavin felt some pressure to do "what everybody does." Ultimately, despite his initial expectation for the institution and college education, he developed the desire to have a number of service experiences like his peers.

Peers also prompted students towards leadership experiences by providing role models. Despite their predisposition towards leadership experiences, some students were hesitant to make commitments or were uninformed about the opportunities that suited their interests. Peers who had already taken advantage of these opportunities provide a model to the students or even nudge them into the experiences. In short, peers paved the way to actual participation in leadership and collective efforts. For example, Viola was greatly inspired by her predecessor when she decided to apply to be a resident advisor in her hall. She shared how her senior peer instilled in her a sense of pride and encouragement.

I'm an RA. That's a huge thing that, that they will trust me to be in charge of other people as well as myself and that they think that I have the strength of character and, in myself to be somebody who is an authority figure, like that's a pretty big deal to me. It's a, I guess, it's an especially big deal because I move down the hall into my old RA's room and I respected her immensely. Not only was she an excellent RA, she was also a member of the theater department, so she was somebody that I had a pretty good relationship with that I really respected and so to be put into her position and in a lot of

ways, you, I'm compared to her and for people to be proud of me in that position is huge. It's such an ego boost, I guess. Well, not an ego boost, but it's very, it's confidence building because I was really, I mean really afraid. Before the year started I was terrified, of what I was going to have to deal with, so I don't know.

Earlier in the interview, Viola shared that she "liked to be able to be there for people, to be a resource," which led her "wanting to be an RA" as she came to the school. Despite this predisposition, she felt afraid of venturing into the role. Inheriting not only the role but the room from her senior peer whom she respected was empowering to Viola because she identified herself with this senior student and could envision her own success in this role just like her predecessor had been successful. In other words, this respected senior student served a role model to Viola. What was distinctive about this peer role model might be the closeness in their standing as students. Although this student was senior to Viola, she was still a student and closer to Viola than adults in terms of age, experiences, ability to perform a certain role, and future plans. Standing on a common ground, Viola could readily identify herself with this senior student, and believed that if that student succeeded, she could, too.

Peers not only served as role models, they also acted as recruiters who recognized their potential and recommended them for leadership roles or group involvements. Franny's path to a leadership role exemplified peer influences in recognizing potential. She joined the NAACP right after she started college, and was not as active as she had expected. In her third year, however, she remarked on how she ended up becoming president of the club.

I was trying to get to the meetings my freshman year, but I wasn't able to just because I was so busy with school work and trying to get myself together. But the president at that time, she, I guess appointed people for the positions that next year and she knew of me

and she – I guess she saw the leadership roles that I did have in myself and she just saw the type of person I am with – that she knew that I had a lot to offer to the organization.

So that's how really I got involved. So it was really nice.

The need to balance her time between academics and leadership experiences surpassed Franny's desire to actively work in the organization. Her participation was at first peripheral; however, her potential as well as her passion towards the organization was appreciated by the former president, and she was appointed to be new president. Like Franny, many students discussed peer influences in expanding their roles or even ascending to positional leadership within a given organization.

These examples demonstrate that peer influences is an important factor influencing students' involvement in leadership experiences. Because peers stood on a similar standing in terms of experiences, level of competence, or future plans, students quickly identified themselves with peers and modeled what their peers were doing. Peers are also more physically proximate than adult role models as they interact daily with each other as roommates, classmates, or friends. For this reason, peer influences affect turning students' predisposition into actual participation in leadership experiences.

### **Summary**

Students' pre-collegiate experiences and characteristics set the stage for leadership involvement in college. An analysis of students' accounts of their high school experiences and collegiate plans revealed that students in this study entered college with predispositions towards leadership experiences. Formulated through multiple prior experiences, students' predisposition towards leadership experiences was grounded in three threads of premises that they held about college education or life in college. First, their predisposition was derived from the idea that



college is more than academics, thus maximizing its potential required them to also be involved in social aspects of collegiate life. Students sought many different opportunities for leadership experiences as a way to fulfill this belief. Second, students' leadership predisposition was influenced by the activities in which they participated in high school. These activities or involvements helped students learn what they liked, were good at, and/or wanted to improve in years to come. They became involved in college leadership experiences to continue activities related to their interests or to learn skills and knowledge that were important to their sense of self. Lastly, students believed that academic performance was critical, thus were aware of the need to balance academics and involvements in leadership experiences; this was a constant battle throughout their collegiate career. They considered too little involvement as being as undesirable as being too much involved.

Students' prior experiences also taught them about leadership. Students had their working concepts of leadership, which affected their approach to leadership experiences. Some students in this study conceptualized leadership as strictly reserved for people with position, power, and authority. As such, the line between a leader and a follower was distinct, and if they were in leadership positions, they took it for granted that they had more responsibilities than followers. A gender-relevant pattern emerged in regard to leadership style: female students tended to focus on the leader's responsibility to "listen to" and "be fair" in a leadership position, while male students tended to focus on the leader's responsibility to motivate others for achieving a group goal.

Another important finding was the types of factors that prompted students to actually participate in leadership experiences. These included intentional educational practices and peer influences. Intentional educational practices empowered students to join a campus organization

or even start one by teaching alternative notions of leadership that emphasized collaborative relationships and instilling a sense of confidence in conducting leadership roles. Peers encouraged or enabled student leadership; these influences were impactful because peers were close not only in proximity, but also in their standing as other young adults who had just started their collegiate careers. On this shared ground, peers were considered as a reliable source of information and a role model whom they should look up to and who showed them a path to leadership experiences.

## **Chapter 5. ENGAGING WITH LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCES**

A key characteristic of relational leadership is that it is situated with a collective group process. This collective process, if clearly implied by Komives, Lucas, and McMahon's (2006) definition of leadership as "a relational and ethical process of people together attempting to accomplish positive change" (p.74), is situated within a collective group process. Earlier, Astin (1996) elaborated seven core values reflected in a relational leadership process that is specifically geared towards social change; these values are consciousness of self, congruence, commitment, collaboration, controversy with civility, common purpose, and citizenship. Given the relational definition of leadership, it is important to note that an experience could be coded as leadership despite the fact that it was not involved with positional leadership roles. For this study, my understanding of relational leadership concepts sensitized my thoughts about leadership as I read students' narratives and coded for leadership experiences. In this chapter, I illustrate the ways in which students were engaged with their leadership experiences. I first provide an overview of students' leadership experiences and then describe modes of their engagement in leadership experiences.

### **Overview of Students' Leadership Experiences**

The initial open-coding of 39 students' three-year longitudinal interviews ( $n=117$ ) in this sample yielded 111 examples of students' leadership experiences. Figure 5.1 shows the number of leadership experiences reported by students, per year and by gender. The number of these

experiences increased from Year 1 to Year 2 as students increased their involvement and made decisions about the organizations to which they would commit their time and effort.

A comparison by gender reveals that women reported more leadership experiences in Years 2 and 3 than men; female students reported a total of 57 experiences across the years while men had a total of 41 experiences. This gender difference is partly due to the fact that there are more female students ( $n=23$ ) in the sample than men ( $n=16$ ). To adjust the gender difference in sample size, I calculated the average number of leadership experiences mentioned by students per year, which is presented in Figure 5.2. In the first two years of college, men on average reported slightly more leadership experiences than women. In their third year, this trend was reversed, with slightly more leadership experiences reported by women than men. Taken together, it is likely that men decided their leadership involvement earlier than women. In other words, women might gradually increase their involvement with a relational leadership process than quickly decide their commitment in earlier years during collegiate career.

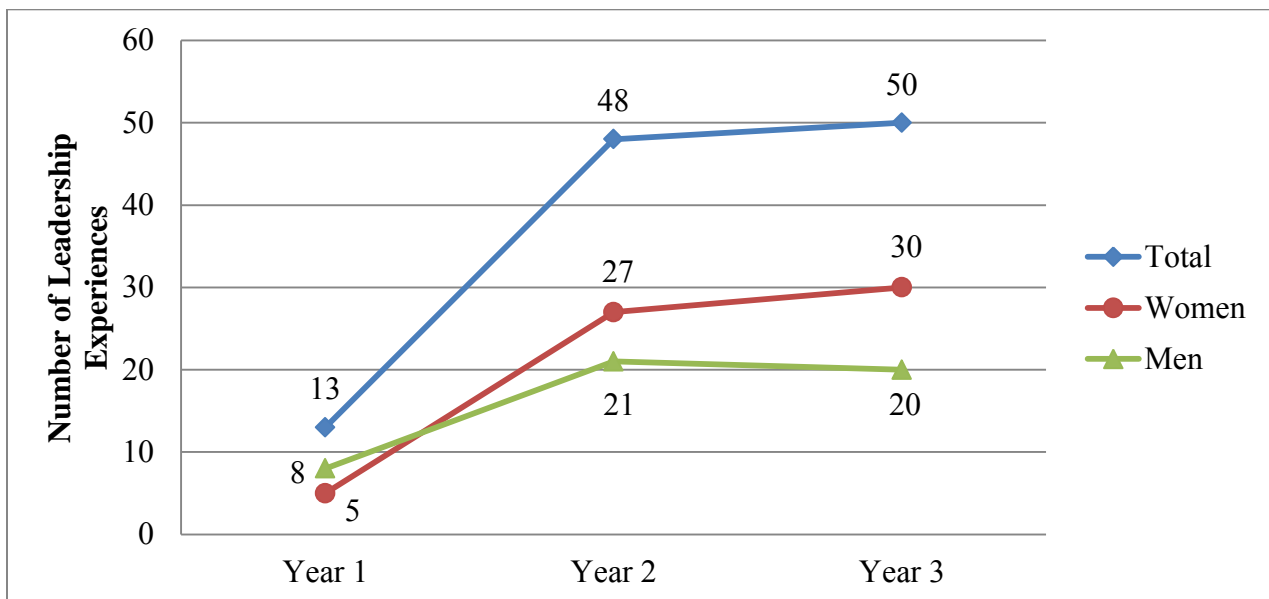


Figure 5.1. Total Number of Leadership Experiences, by Year and by Gender

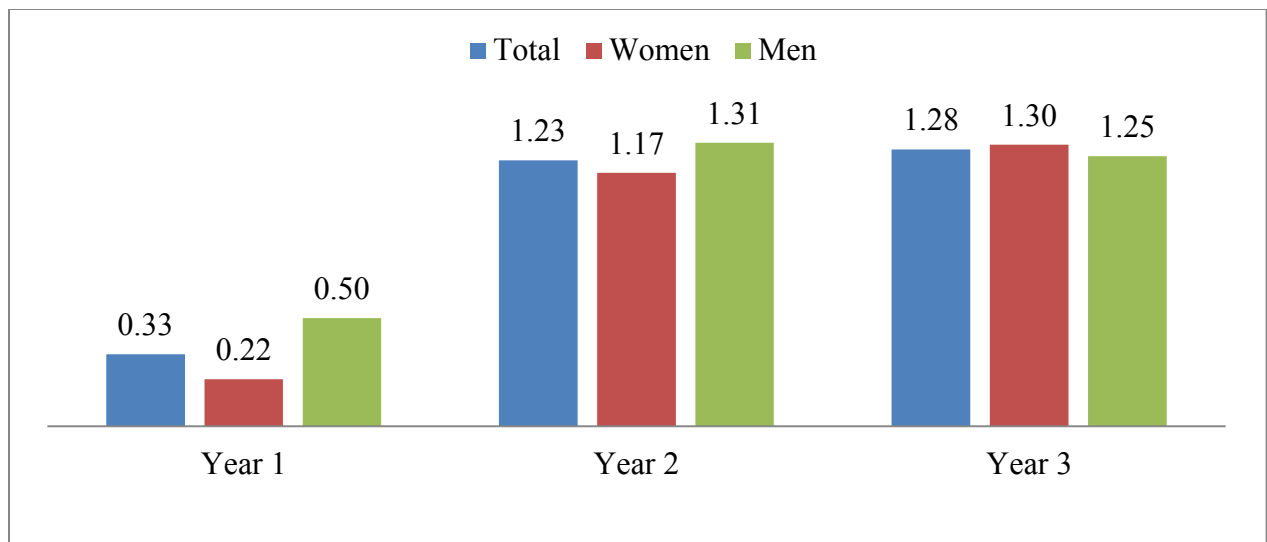


Figure 5.2. Average Number of Leadership Experience Coded per Interview, by Year and by Gender

The interviews were longitudinal in nature; so were students' leadership experiences. Although some experiences were mentioned in multiple years of students' interviews, these experiences were evolving and developing as students increased their commitments and took new roles in campus organizations. For this reason, to examine the features of students' engagement with leadership experiences, 111 examples from 39 students' three-year longitudinal interviews were separately reviewed and coded to its characteristics into one or more categories or themes.

### **Modes of Engagement with Leadership Experiences**

An analysis of students' narratives highlighted two distinct modes of engagement in the leadership experiences, a personal mode and a connection mode. The personal mode denotes a motivation for engagement for purposes of self-improvement. Students with the personal mode typically stated that they were drawn to leadership experiences for the pursuit of individual goals, which were typically tied to either career and skill development or the expression of their internal values or beliefs. The connection mode indicates a motivation for involvement for

purposes of gaining a sense of belonging (feeling connected with others) and/or feeling concern for the people with whom students had relationships. The typical reasons for being involved in leadership experiences for connection mode students were building or sustaining a support system, having felt a sense of affiliation to the group, or feeling responsibility for the welfare of people to whom they were connected.

The primary difference between these two modes (described in detail in the following section) is that they diverge in the ways that students sustained motivation towards being a leader and being involved in a leadership experience. The personal mode, as the term suggests, used individual goals, values, or beliefs as the motivation to be involved in leadership experiences. In contrast, students using the connection mode drew motivation from relationships or group affiliations they considered important. Connection mode students were likely to care about the well-being of the group rather than personal goals and strived to improve the outcomes of the group(s), sometimes even at their own expense.

Although these motivations are named personal and connection, I do not mean to imply that those using the personal mode did not value relationships or that those using the connection mode did not have individual goals coming into the leadership experience. Students using a personal mode also sought meaningful relationships; however, their primary motivation to join and sustain their commitment to leadership experiences was working on their goals rather than building relationships or working for the welfare of the group. In a similar way, students who approached leadership experiences using a connection mode could have individual goals in mind, but their major motivation was derived from the group affiliation or relationships. For this reason, students with connection modes worked on behalf of others rather than on their own behalf.

The two modes of engagements were not mutually exclusive, and some students' narratives reflected both approaches; in these cases, the experience was double-coded. The allocation of experiences to each mode of engagement is presented in Table 5.1. As nine leadership experiences reflect both modes of engagements, the total number of modes ( $n=125$ ) presented in Table 5.1 is larger than the total number of leadership experiences ( $n=111$ ) presented in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.1.

*Modes of Engagement with Leadership Experiences by Type and Year*

	<b>Year 1</b>	<b>Year 2</b>	<b>Year 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Personal	13 (10%)	41 (33%)	38 (30%)	92 (74%)
Connection	0 (0%)	16 (12%)	17 (14%)	33 (26%)
Total	13 (10%)	57 (45%)	56 (45%)	125 (100%)

### **Personal Mode of Engagement**

Students' mode of engagement was coded as personal when students were drawn to leadership experiences for personal achievement, self-expression, and self-improvement. Students in this mode of engagement were aware of their own interests, competencies, traits, or internal values, characteristics that made them feel different from other students. Their primary motivation for joining the organization was derived from their desire to augment, reinforce, or supplement their personal development. Subsequently, they chose to commit themselves to the leadership experience if they thought this would lead to self-improvement. Xavier exemplified the personal mode of engagement. He had been long involved in theater and scouting in his high

school and felt very proud of his skills in theater and leadership learned from years of scouting experiences. Based on this sense of pride, his motivation to be involved in a college theater group was derived from his intention to sharpen his skills in theater. Here, he discussed his interests in and motivation towards theater in his second year interview.

It came down to [that] both [scouting and theater] have been huge parts of my life, scouting since I was eleven. And drama and theater only actually started when I was fourteen and a freshman in high school, but both are easily the two forces that have defined me most today. But theater is the one that I can make a career out of. I'll be scouting forever, but I can't necessarily make a living from it, whereas theater, I love just as much and I can have a profession with it. I figured my college years were about preparing me for the "real world." So, I wanted to do something that would not only look good on the resume, but help me find the skills that I needed for the career path I'd chosen.

His statement demonstrated that his motivation was based on his desire to develop skills through the activities in which he had long been involved. He believed that his skills in theater directing had been and would continue to be an important part to him. He also believed that these skills would help market himself better in the "real world." Given this belief, he joined the theater group to continue working on theatre, sharpen his directing skills, and ultimately have a stronger resume based on the work experience in theatre.

The motivations for students operating with the personal mode of engagement were tied to self-improvement: students were committed to leadership experiences because the duties involved would aid in their personal development. Ken's approach also demonstrates the personal mode of engagement. He was his high school's class president, and felt proud of his



leader image and skills. He displayed the desire to keep working on his leadership abilities by taking a positional leadership role in college. When asked about areas he would like to develop in college, he stated,

Just continue to work on leadership abilities because I think being a first born child and everything, just kind of being in charge of everybody, growing up, it just seems like I can, I have the ability, the potential to be a leader, so I want to make sure, I want to get involved in certain things about that [leadership].

Ken's motivation was also tied to leadership, just like Xavier. He believed that he had leadership potential and would do well in leadership roles. Sustaining this belief about his leadership abilities required him to take a leadership position in an organization and to sharpen his leadership skills. In his second year, he wavered between taking a leadership role in his fraternity or his athletic team, and ultimately chose his fraternity.

Many students associated leadership experiences with improving skills or expertise that would get them close to their career goals. Thus, students typically stated that they chose to be involved in leadership experiences for "resume building." Brady, a prospective teacher, explained why he was drawn to the mentoring program for underprivileged children in his school's neighborhood.

It was during freshman orientation, they sent out an email and I just got the basic description [about the mentoring program]. It sounds like it's good for me and especially look good on a resume to be a teacher.

Although Brady found his interests in teaching through a teacher cadet program in high school, he felt nervous at the beginning of college about whether his qualifications were enough to get him admission to a competitive teacher certificate program at College A.

Recognizing the need to strengthen his teacher preparation, he was motivated to get involved in this mentoring program for underprivileged children because it was related to teaching activities and thus he expected it to help increase his teaching and mentoring competencies.

Because the primary motivation for students using personal mode of engagement was based on self-improvement, gaining a sense of confidence in achieving personal development was important for gauging their own progress, learning, or improvement. For this reason, if their involvement in a leadership experience resulted in a sense of confidence, these students sustained or sometimes increased their commitment to leadership experiences. In his third year interview, Bruce proudly stated his successful leadership experience and shared how he gained confidence in his leadership skills.

I'm going to keep going back to the [Reciting the School Song Event] thing because it really helped me. I'd never led anything at all really until then. A lot of people thought I couldn't do it and I had people breathing down my neck the whole time telling me I was doing it wrong, but it turned out alright. ... My goal was basically to give them [first-year students] the opportunity that I had, to get together and make friends. Have that experience that so many other generations of [name of College A] men have had. I think I did alright and that gave me a little confidence to go on and do the publication stuff and take a bigger role there. I'm more confident because of that that I can actually lead something. Lead people.

Bruce organized a group of first year students to participate in one of the school's traditions. His ability to lead was initially discredited because he admittedly "was so quiet and not aggressive" and not considered to possess the typical leader personality. However, he was able to persist and

was successful in organizing students for the event and leading them to sing the song correctly as a group. This was a great confidence booster, as it provided a sense of achievement and further affirmed his ability to lead, despite having been discredited by many peers. With this increased confidence in his ability to lead, he ventured into taking a leadership role with the publication for which he was a writer.

Jordan's motivation was another example that demonstrated the importance of a sense of confidence in sustaining motivation or commitment towards leadership experiences. He had been involved in a Student Managers Organization. This organization typically recruited 70 sophomore students as athletic managers and then promoted only 20 students to be junior managers. Jordan was selected to be a junior manager, and became responsible for six to seven sophomore students. This experience of leading and teaching sophomore managers was rewarding and it built a sense of confidence in his leadership skills. In his third year interview, he illustrated his leadership experience and also what he gained from his leadership role.

And so most of them [Sophomore Managers] don't really know what's going on. As the Junior Manager, they're assigned to me. They look to you to tell them what they need to be doing, where they need to be. You have to take on that leadership role; not only to know what you're supposed to be doing and where you're supposed to be, but also to communicate to somebody else what they're supposed to be doing. And it's another one of those things that at first is a little tough to get used to, but once you do it, it's nice to be able to know that you can do it. It's nice to – to know that you can take on that leadership role, organize everybody. I think it's a demonstration for myself that I can do it – because I know the rest of my life, there's going to be things where I need to step up

[as a leader] and get something done, whether it's in work or whatever. And it's just nice to know that I can do it because I've done it before.

What boosted Jordan's confidence in his leadership skills was his successful experience leading people and organizing the tasks. His sense of achievement gained through successfully conducting leader roles as a junior manager boosted his confidence to seek out leadership roles elsewhere.

A sense of confidence gained through successfully conducting a given task or a role in a leadership experience was an important sustaining force for students using the personal mode of engagement. Students operating with personal mode joined campus organizations for self-development or learning skills. Successful experiences in a campus organization provided a sense of achievement, and also confirmed that their experiences were contributing to their self-development. Once students could see the gains earned through such experiences, they felt further committed or motivated towards leadership experiences.

### **Variations within the Personal Mode of Engagement**

Within the personal mode of engagement, I observed two different types of motivation through which students gained a sense of confidence in their personal development: (1) task-based motivation, where this sense was achieved by accomplishing challenging tasks; and (2) value-based motivation, where this sense was achieved by acting on or expressing beliefs, values, or identities. For both mechanisms, the primary motivating forces were self-improvement by getting involved in leadership experiences and seeking and/or gaining a sense of confidence there. A difference between the two emerged in regard to the source of this sense of confidence. For a task-based motivation, the source was grounded in the challenges involved in the duties that they would have in a leadership experience and/or whether they accomplished those

challenges. By contrast, students with value-based motivation gained a sense of confidence from expressing or acting congruently with their values, beliefs, or identities.

Of all 93 personal leadership engagement reported in Table 5.1, 77% of leadership experiences were coded to task-based motivation and 23% to value-based, demonstrating the prevalence of task-based personal motivation among students across years. Table 5.2 presents overview of how personal leadership experiences were further coded to task-based and/or value-based motivation. Figure 5.3 graphically illustrates how the distribution of task-based versus value-based changed over time.

Table 5.2.  
*Types of Personal Engagement, by Year*

Types	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Total: Personal Engagement	13 (14%)	41 (45%)	39 (42%)	92 (100%)
Task-based	13 (14%)	32 (35%)	26 (28%)	71 (77%)
Value-based	0 (0%)	9 (10%)	12 (13%)	21 (23%)

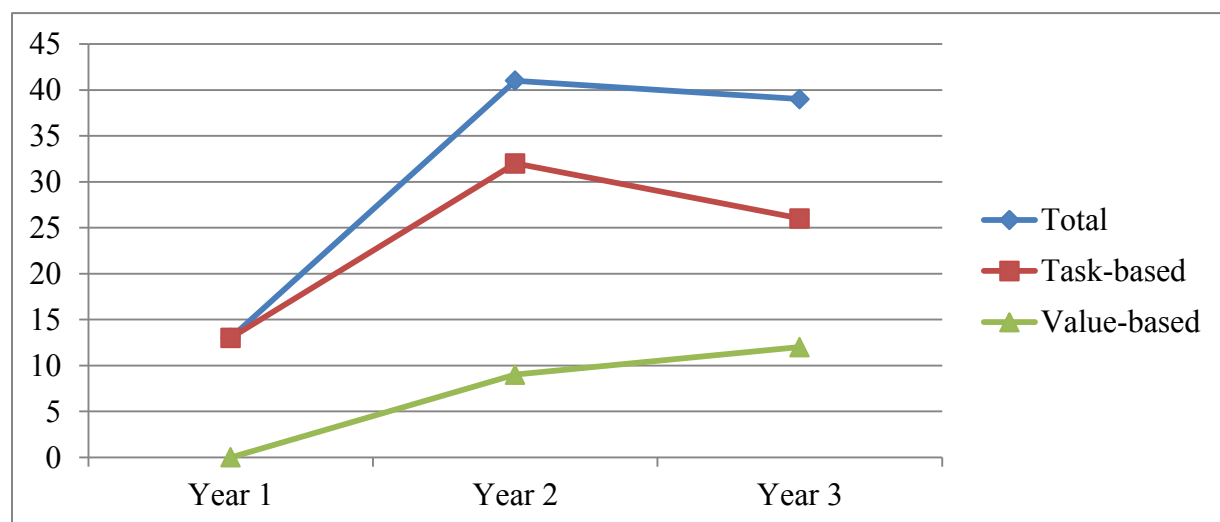


Figure 5.3. Distribution of Personal Engagement across Years

Given the general increase in the number of students' leadership experiences between Years 1 and 2 (reported in the first section of this chapter), there are increasing trends in the numbers of task-based and value-based motivation during the same period. The patterns diverge between two types between Years 2 and 3; the number of task-based motivation decreases while that of value-based is still on the rise. Upon this backdrop, I will illustrate each of personal leadership motivation types in the following section.

**Task-Based Motivation.** Students who used task-based motivation felt confident when they accomplished challenging tasks or conducted roles that were once deemed beyond their capacity. For this reason, the level of challenge involved in tasks that students would have in a leadership experience was important. Sean's example demonstrated the importance of this level of challenge. In his second year interview, Sean introduced himself as a writer for the school paper. He was losing his interests in and passion towards his work in the school paper, as it did not provide enough challenge to him. Then, in a conversation with a friend, he was offered an opportunity to work on more challenging tasks than getting a story as a writer.

So I would just go to the meeting, get a story, do it and give it to them. And I wasn't really that committed. It was my job still, so I had to do it. But I wouldn't, I wouldn't go to the meetings that often, and I would just pick up a story, do it, and then just be done with it. ... My friend came up to me who's also in my year and said, "Yeah, I'm the editor of the news section," so that means, [she] doesn't do the stories; [instead] laying them out and formatting all four pages of the news every week. I'm really intimidated and we were talking about it. And I was like, "I don't know if I want to write for the same section as it was getting old and kind of boring." So she's like, "do you want to be my assistant editor? Or be my co-editor actually." So it was we were on an even playing

field. And I was like, “yeah, I’ll just do it.” And it was kind of on a whim, but I really wanted to be more connected to the paper as opposed to just feeling, ‘Oh, I’m giving them my stories and that’s it,’ because I didn’t really feel that much accomplished.

Being a writer was important to him, but his involvement as a writer proved to not be rewarding and was rather “boring.” In other words, the writing tasks fell short of providing challenges that would allow Sean to be motivated to improve his writing competences. Subsequently, Sean’s motivation towards the work was diminishing, and he was gradually pulling himself away from the group by going to the meetings less frequently. However, the unexpected offer to assume editorial responsibilities fulfilled his deeper desire to be challenged and thereby improve his skills. It appealed to his deeper interests, and Sean became more involved in the newspaper. He expected that his new role and the tasks involved would provide him with a sense of accomplishment; for this reason, he felt motivated to take this role.

Increasing challenges and providing performance feedback were another crucial source that provided students with a sense of confidence in their self-improvement. Receiving external recognition for a job well done was the evidence that affirmed their levels of performance, and served as “an ego-booster,” which helped sustain their participation in the leadership experience. Will’s example demonstrated this case. He was a light manager in his high school theater group, and again took charge of lights in his heavily-student-driven college theater group. He was majoring in theater and thinking of a theatrical career after college. Despite learning in his major and his prior years of experiences, he was nervous about independently managing lights in his college theater group. With little help or guidance from senior students or instructors, he managed to get the knack of lighting. His mastery of light management was noticed by a director who then promoted him into a bigger role in the next production. In his second year

interview, he shared how his success in light managing led to different challenges and eventually earned him praise for his work.

I remember that one weekend; I spent probably 15 hours in that theater going over re-patching, plugging things in, unplugging things, and changing things around. Oh, what do I do about this? What do I do about this? But it was neat because rather than at a big college where I would have to wait until I was a junior to do something like that, already they're saying, "Here, do this." I mean, it was perfect. It wasn't great necessarily, but I mean it taught me something. It showed me how to do it, definitely. What was neat is [that] it caught the eye of one of the directors who directed the next show over Christmas break. I received an email from him asking me to stage manage. So, as a freshman, I stage managed probably one of the hardest productions in the entire year. ... There were a lot of technical issues and all kinds of things that I had to solve, but I really gained an appreciation for and found in myself that I have a talent for looking over a broad spectrum to see what I need to do to make this work and what I need to do to make this work. Being able to manage things on a large scale and a small scale at the same time and coordinate everything. I mean some of that stuff was an absolute nightmare. I remember spending nine hours for the tech Saturday just going over and over and over and over. Everyone said hands down, it was probably the best production of the year, so it was a lot of fun.

Sharpening his skills in theater was rewarding to Will as it provided him with a sense of independence and achievement, and also praise and external recognition. He appreciated the opportunity that the small college setting allowed, one that otherwise would not likely be offered to the first-year student. In addition to the tasks at hand, he saw the external recognition he



received as a reward for his hard work; this showed his success in these challenging tasks and thus boosted his confidence in managing the work. Ultimately, this sense of confidence coupled with external recognition motivated him to further commit to the theatre group and consider theater as a career.

Both the narratives above illustrate how accomplishing challenging tasks served as a source for a sense of confidence in self-improvement. These students chose to join their groups for the opportunities that allowed them to learn new skills and increase their capabilities. Although they were involved in a group process, the members or peers with whom they were working were not as important as the tasks on which they were working. In other words, these students were engaged in leadership experiences that offered the challenges that rewarded them with a sense of confidence, instead being involved because of relationships with other members. The level of challenge involved in the tasks or the roles was important because inadequate challenges would not provide a sense of confidence in their self-improvement; rather, it made students feel bored or that they were not progressing toward their goals. In short, students who used task-based motivation were drawn to the leadership experiences if the given activity provided enough challenge that would reward them with a sense of confidence in self-improvement.

**Value-based Motivation.** Another variation within the personal mode of engagement was value-based motivation. This motivation was derived from acting congruently with their beliefs or internal values. Students who operated with value-based motivation were typically aware of their values or beliefs, and these internal beliefs helped them to make choices of activities or involvement in leadership experiences. In other words, students chose to be involved in a given leadership experience to express or act on their internal beliefs or values.

Acting in congruence with their internal values provided a sense of confidence: doing so not only reaffirmed the importance of their own values, but also increased their self-worth.

Grace, who proudly stated that “faith is everything,” exemplified how her value system influenced her choice of leadership experiences. She was raised in the Christian tradition, inculcated with religious values that emphasized altruism, service, and sharing one’s own talents. She felt motivated or even obliged towards service activities since these activities were clearly in line with her faith tradition. Therefore, being involved in these activities enabled her to act on those beliefs. She shared her motivation towards service:

And then it had a scripture that said, “For even the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve” and I know that, I know that I want to be something with service. ... Really that’s like one of the ultimate expressions of love, like when you can take your time to do something for someone else. And it’s not even just for someone else. The people who do the service get just as much out of it as the people who are being served and it’s just such a wonderful thing to do with your time as opposed to things like selfishly or you know other stuff like that.

To Grace, service opportunities were a way to share her love, act on altruism and eventually express her faith. She considered being involved in service as “a wonderful thing to do with your time” as opposed to spending your time selfishly. In a sense, she sought to serve in order to live up to her faith. To Grace, the sentiment that one was doing something meaningful was a source for a sense of confidence and pride. Given this desire to do service, she was involved in summer service trips during two consecutive summers.

Talyah's example was another case that demonstrated students' value-based motivation for personal engagement. Talyah graduated from a high school with 60 % Hispanic enrollment, and demonstrated a budding interest in multicultural issues and social change through civic engagement even at the beginning of college. Given this interest, she had been seeking opportunities to volunteer and serve others. Consequently, she had an internship in D.C. and participated in a service project in New Orleans during her first year. In her second year, she had another service experience in the Dominican Republic, and stated why she enjoyed this particular service experience more than her previous one in the Capitol.

And I'm also, as a person I feel like revived. I did something that actually fed my heart. The summer before I interned in the Senate in D.C. and I hated what I had to wear. I hated all the pretentious fakeness of everything. And it was just not fulfilling at all. I hated it. I got paid well. This summer I didn't get paid. I had to pay but it was so much better. The interactions and one of the missions of the organization is multicultural understanding and youth empowerment. And actually seeing that and experiencing that, all the relationships you've made. ... (I: youth empowerment, why is that important to you?) Because we're now at the future; we're today. And I think right now the world needs something, a lot of things. So I think – I'm interested in race a lot as a sociology major. Because our generation or my generation or whatever you want to call it has grown up in such more multicultural environments, more integrated schools, and neighborhoods. I feel like we innately have some of the beliefs. [We] grew up with the beliefs that we need to change our world for the better. I think empowering the youth [is important because] they have everything to do it [change the world for the better].

Talyah found it more enjoyable and fulfilling to do unpaid service in the Dominican Republic than do a paid internship in the Capitol since the former was in more congruent with her values on multiculturalism and social change. Working on Capitol Hill may be a coveted experience; however, to Talyah, it did not “feed her heart.” In comparison, the service was reviving as the activity provided an opportunity to put her values in action. In short, her motivation and commitment towards this leadership activity was derived from her internal values.

Students who displayed valued-based motivation were able to use their internal values to guide their choices of leadership experiences. In contrast with students who solely guided their choices based on task-based motivation, students with value-based motivation utilized their values as a standard to coordinate their choices. Lucas, a second-year student, remarked how his values of advocating for the rights of people with different sexual orientations guided his choice of campus activities; this action was quite different from his conservative Christian familial values.

Christianity is based on more than Jesus Christ, and Jesus never said anything against homosexuals. The main passages between Sodom and Gomorrah, it's very ambiguous. It's very vague. We just do so because we feel like it's different, so difference is bad. I'd explained that the Bible has been used not to condemn slavery, but to promote slavery, to condemn civil rights for African Americans especially [and] women during suffrage. That was a key point. It's just been used in so many ways to suppress so many people. Then I tell them I just see it as another way. ... In that sense, I'm very set on my stance. I'm very involved in civil rights for all minorities and for whatever sexual orientation, and so that's why I say a morality sense because since I don't want to say held down

because that sounds bad, but since I'm not held down by religion of any sort.

There's no real, I want to say, moral code. I'm not saying I have no morals. I'm just saying that I don't follow such and such because it's written, so when it comes to morality and they preach something, I'll learn about it and I'll take [it] into consideration. I'll adapt it in some sense if I actually see if they have a valid point.

His statement demonstrated his understanding of canonical Christian values and how they have sometimes been used to ostracize people from non-majority backgrounds. Based on this rationalization on religion and why and how people of different sexual orientations are discriminated against in society, he said he took a firm stance to work for advocating for the rights of these people. As a result, he joined a gay student alliance group on campus in the midst of apparent reproach by his peers on an all-male campus. In fact, he shared in his third year interview that he got "a lot of flak" for joining this group. However, he made a difficult choice to act on and express his values, as well as to advocate for the rights of people for whom he cared. Expression of his values in face of expected reproach provided him with a sense of confidence and pride, which kept fueling his passion towards the gay student alliance group.

All three students' examples demonstrated students' awareness of their internal beliefs and values. In contrast to the students who solely based their choices on skills that they would learn and what they accomplished in a leadership experience, these students were committed to leadership experiences in order to express and reaffirm their values. Selecting certain tasks or roles was important because they saw these roles and tasks as congruent with their values and beliefs. In other words, these students were

drawn to being involved in these tasks or roles because doing so allowed them to clearly demonstrate their values or beliefs. For these students, the expression of their internal values through involvement in leadership experiences was a way to self-improvement and gaining a sense of confidence.

### **Connection Mode of Engagement**

The second mode of engagement I observed was connection; here, students' motivation for engaging in leadership experiences was derived from their relationships with others. The people in the group were an important part of students' self-representation. In other words, students with the connection mode identified themselves with other people, and felt others' emotions, thoughts, or experiences as if they were their own. For this reason, students with the connection mode of engagement were motivated towards leadership experiences if their involvement provided opportunities to form close relationships with others, strengthen ties to their affinity groups, and interact with others whose experiences or emotions provided a sense of connectedness. Susan was one of these students who operated with a connection mode of engagement. Her motivation to join a society on her campus (a local sorority without the national affiliation) was finding her group of friends and building close relationships with others who provided mutual support. In her second year interview, she talked about the impact of her engagement with the society and on the strong bond built among the sisters.

I would say it [joining the society] helped me become more aware of other people's feelings because everything you do really impacts your sisters. Every little thing you didn't necessarily think of. If you have a normal group of friends and you decide to go and do something by yourself one night with another group of friends, your first group of friends aren't going to be hurt by that. But your sisters just assume you're all going to do

stuff together. So you become really aware of what other people want and what you need to do for them, and become more selfless.

The bond among the society sisters helped her become more aware of how her actions might be construed by those around her. Besides heightened awareness about others' feelings, the strong sense of community led Susan to identify strongly with her sisters and become "more selfless."

This strong sense of connectedness to her sisters encouraged Susan to sustain her engagements in the society.

A sense of connectedness also led to communal responsibility in that strong identification to the group supported students' beliefs that the group's success or welfare was equated with their own success or well-being. Thus, students with a connection mode of engagement worked for success and achievement of the common collective goal or for the improvement of others' welfare. Courtney, who aspired to lead a Black Student Organization, shared this sentiment when she discussed her increased involvement over time in her second year interview.

You have to promote your cultural group, and I just really enjoy that because it's not just about you; it's about the group. I feel that it's a really good organizing tool because it'll help me, if I want to do non-profit things, organize those groups in the future and make connections with people. (I: How would you decide it was important for you to join this group?) Just because when I was a freshman, one of the girls was really like, "You should join this group," etc. So I was like, "Okay," and then I just really enjoyed it. And I saw potential to improve it. Okay, like it's kind of the same with my friend, if I see potential for improvement, then I'll try to improve it. And so we started improving it [the group] last year, and then this year we're really going to improve it. [J0814/Courtney]

Courtney was initially introduced to the club by her friend, and felt “more connected” to the club in her second year when her friend became president of the club. In her third year when she provided the narratives above, she was about to take a leadership position in the club. Her motivation was based on her desire to be connected, initially to the friend, and later, she felt the connection to the club. This was demonstrated by her concern for the overall group goal rather than her own. She saw places where she could make improvements in the group, and was eager to make contributions in this process, which demonstrated her sense of responsibility to the group.

A sense of care or concern towards the group and the relationships built was also an important component of communal responsibility. Students increased their commitment to the leadership experience when their actions or efforts could make a difference in the collective outcomes of the group and when their efforts resulted in others’ satisfaction and well-being. Lisa’s commitment towards the athlete team was sustained for this reason. She was involved in tennis in her high school, but she chose a team sport in college because she wanted the “team-oriented aspect.” During her first year on the team, she was satisfied with the friendships that she was able to make on the team. Although Lisa started out as a novice, she was promoted to the varsity squad after spending hours and efforts on practicing. In her third year, she won a series of races; however, she indicated that she struggled with working with her coach. Here, she stated how she was able to stay in the team.

I didn't enjoy my time on the team anymore. I wasn't enjoying what I was doing. I wanted to leave the team, but I knew that if I did, the people in my boat wouldn't get to row. And there was three seniors in my team, so I knew that they would never, ever get to row again, so that was just something that was bearing down on me. Even coming



back this year, she [the coach] switched spots with a different coach, so the novice coach actually switched with her. This is the varsity four coach. And I had one practice with her, and I wanted to quit right away. I wasn't sure if I wanted to even come back on the team. But I came back just to see how it would be, and I was very hesitant in the year when it started and very hesitant with everything I did. But because I wasn't with this specific coach anymore, it helped me stay. And when I had that one practice with her, it just reminded me of everything that I went through of how hard it was winning last year.

Lisa's statement demonstrated that her motivation towards the team was not so much based on her performance as on her relationships with people in the team. Despite her remarkable success in the team, she considered leaving it due to her negative interactions with the coach. Notably, what sustained her motivation was her sense of obligation to her senior teammates. She was aware that leaving the team would have a negative effect on others, and could ultimately spoil the harmony of the team. Subsequently, despite all the frustration and hesitation, she stayed.

Students with a connection mode of engagement were motivated towards leadership experiences because of the bonds or affiliations they built with people or a group. Students identified with the group and felt a responsibility to the people in connection. The success of the group, the well-being of the people for whom they cared, or the achievement of the common goal were all central motivating forces to their commitment to leadership experiences. Therefore, students sustained their engagement because they wanted to strengthen these relationships and also saw the possibility of their contribution to the group's success or welfare.

### **Variations within the Connection Mode of Engagement**

Within the connection mode of engagement, I also observed two variations: affinity-based and empathy-based connectedness. The differences between these two lie in the

foundations of the sense of affiliation that sustained students' involvement in leadership experiences. An affinity-based connectedness was demonstrated if a sense of affiliation to others was driven by sustained experiences between oneself and others who shared similar traits, personalities, or interests. Students operating with an affinity-based connection mode represented a desire to assimilate themselves to the group because similarities amongst the group members were key ingredients to formulate solidarity and bonding. In comparison, empathy-based connectedness was demonstrated when a sense of affiliation was derived from understanding others' situations as if they were their own. For this reason, students using an empathy-based connection mode did not necessarily represent a desire for assimilation; rather, these students were likely to present a drive for a common cause that would improve the status of others towards whom they felt empathy.

Overview of coding for each type of the connection mode engagements is presented in Table 5.3. Figure 5.4 graphically depicts the cross-sequential distributions of each type of connection mode of engagement. A majority of leadership experiences that exemplified the connection mode of engagement were coded as affinity-based connectedness, with 85% of the total of 33 connection mode engagements coded as such. In terms of cross-sequential trends, there were increases in both affinity-based and empathy-based connection engagements between Years 1 and 2. From Year 2 to Year 3, the number of leadership experiences demonstrating the affinity-based connection mode is virtually unchanged, with a slightly increasing pattern towards Year 3. Considering the small number of empathy-based connection leadership experiences ( $n=5$ ), I am very cautious about interpreting any trends associated with them. Given this overview, I illustrate the details of each of connection mode engagement type in the following section.

Table 5.3.  
*Types of Connection Engagement, by Year*

Types	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Total: Connection Engagement	0 (0%)	16 (48%)	17 (51%)	33 (100%)
Affinity-based	0 (0%)	13 (39%)	15 (45%)	28 (85%)
Empathy-based	0 (0%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	5 (15%)

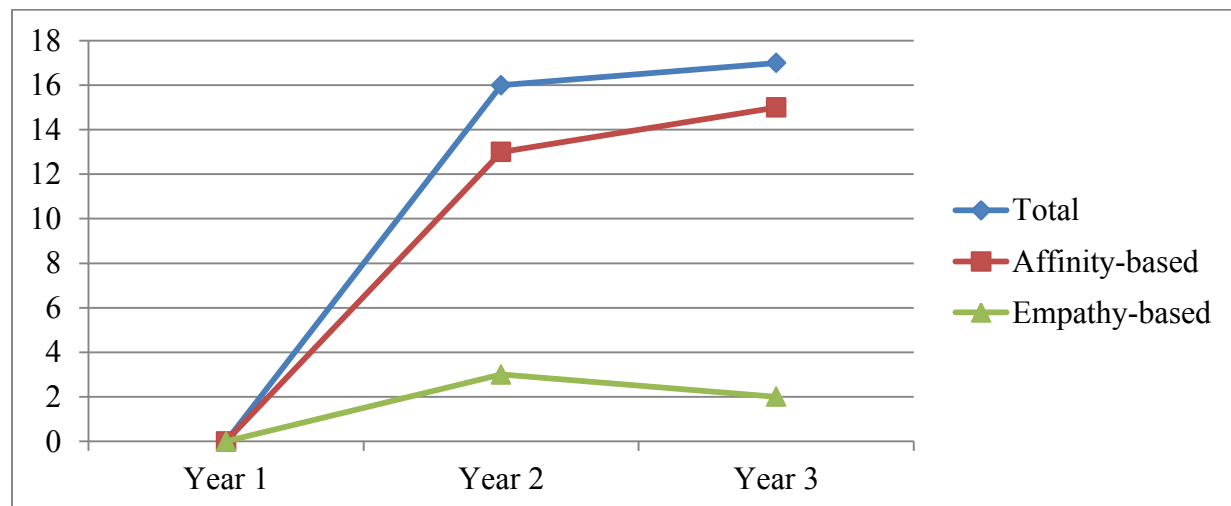


Figure 5.4. Distribution of Types of Connection Mode Engagement across Years

**Affinity-based Connectedness.** Affinity-based connectedness was derived from the bond built on sustained experiences or commonalities shared among group members. For this reason, students were motivated to sustain their commitment if they could build stable relationships, to get a sense of community, or to strengthen ties to their affinity group. Since students' motivation was often to find a social niche where they could call home and build a stable community, they became readily socialized into the new group. For example, Susan was

involved in recruiting for her society in her second year, and reflected on her initial motivation to join the student group.

My whole freshman year was me trying to find my group and the only thing, I found a couple people, like I have two great friends from first semester, but I didn't actually find my group until I joined the society. And I think that's why a lot of people do end up joining societies is because they haven't really found their group and they're looking for that, and I know [what] that can be like. I know, as an active member of society now, we're supposed to try to stay away from people joining because they don't have, like they haven't found their group because you don't want them doing it for the wrong reasons.

Susan's statement demonstrated that her motivation for joining the society derived from her desire to build a stable community. In fact, her college transition was not so easy since she barely knew anybody on campus, and felt that the campus was neither vibrant nor engaging since many fellow students went home for the weekends. At one point, Susan considered transferring to a larger institution because she could not find her group. Joining a society was her attempt to find a group and build a support system. Susan further illustrated how joining a society was a "life changing experience."

I mean obviously that it [joining society] changed my life hugely. I pledged, I mean pledging in itself is such a life changing process. I mean you go through so much in three weeks and you're hugely bonded to the people you pledge with. That's the point of it is to bond, so you do that. And then you, it's like joining, it's literally you get seven new sisters, in our case seven new sisters. Like you fight, I mean I fought with my sisters and five minutes later, we're hugging. It's just, it's exactly like a real sisterhood, it's crazy. It's really nice. But, so you pledge in and then it's just like not only do you have to

worry about yourself, but then you're worrying about, when I pledged in, there was 12 of us, so 11 other people. When you go to a party, you call all of your sisters. When you always have someone to do something with, you're never alone, you're never bored, there's always someone there. You can rely on them to do anything for you, so it's really nice because it's like a really stable ... sense of community, which is what I was looking for.

The bond among the society sisters was not only a product of pledging and joining the society, but also a sustaining force that enabled her to be actively involved in many group activities. Because her motivation came from her desire to be in the group and build "a stable sense of community," she constantly looked at what others in her group did and diligently followed her sisters in their activities. Like Susan, many students with affinity-based connectedness identified themselves strongly with the group and tried to adapt themselves to the group.

Affinity-based motivation was driven by the desire to build supportive, sustainable relationships with others. A sense of kinship based on spending much time together or sharing similar interests was a core element of affinity-based motivation. For this reason, students became socialized into the group even at the sacrifice of their own well-being or self-interests. Tyler, an African American sophomore who pledged a predominantly white fraternity, faced this tension between the group's demands and his own needs. He described how he acted in response to the pressure to tell racist jokes in the context of a Halloween party in his fraternity house.

We had to do these skits for the house because we were freshmen and they wanted me to do these really, really derogatory Black jokes because I was so pro-Black and they thought it was so funny. So I really didn't want to do it, but I agreed to because I was trying to sacrifice for the greater good ... So I did it and whatever and I mean I've just

grown up to love who I am and to love my heritage and I put all that aside. That was probably one of the worst nights when I had to do that. It's probably one of the worst things that I can think of.

Earlier in the same year interview, Tyler demonstrated a sense of attachment to the people of the house when he stated, "Getting initiated was definitely a good feeling ... because I [will] have these guys around me for the rest of my life and they'll always be there and that means a lot to me." As this comment shows, his motivation towards the fraternity was grounded in his desire to build supportive relationships that would last years after graduation. The positive side of his sense of brotherhood in the fraternity was accompanied by a feeling of being coerced into something he didn't want to do. Tyler felt pressured by fraternity members to tell demeaning Black jokes and this violated his own sense of racial pride. He was aware that giving in to the pressure would sacrifice his sense of self, but he did so "for the greater good," which implied working for others' demands and satisfaction, and also to be accepted to the group. Evidently, Tyler stifled his own sense of self to fit in the demands of and maintain peace in his group.

Affinity-based connectedness was derived from the bond students built with other people in the group. Students felt connected to others and were motivated to increase their commitments to the group if they felt a sense of unity with others based on shared experiences, friendship, or mutual support. For this reason, students willingly socialized themselves into the group even at the sacrifice of their own needs. The examples illustrated above provide evidence that affinity, a sense of closeness to others based on strong bond or shared experiences, was a key motivator for students to be engaged in and sustain their commitment to a leadership experience.

**Empathy-based Connectedness.** Empathy-based connectedness stemmed from understanding of others' contexts as if they were one's own. For this reason, a sense of connection was not necessarily derived from similarities among members in a group. Students felt a sense of connection even with those who were different from themselves (i.e., they didn't share interests or characteristics) if they could feel an emotional connection to others and thereby understand others' backgrounds as if one's own. Students used empathy as a way to relate to others who are different than themselves.

Juliana's experience represented her increasing sense of connection as well as her passion towards South American migrants to the U.S. Due to her involvement in Human Rights Watch in her high school, Juliana entered college with an initial inclination towards service and activism. She was an African American student who spoke both English and Spanish. Her predisposition towards service and her language skills contributed to her involvement in a service learning project for the Mexican immigrant community. Here, she explained why she was particularly interested in immigrant issues.

And so I think a lot of it was me learning more about it [immigration issues] because in the beginning, I didn't feel that I was so passionate about undocumented immigrants or just immigrants in general and I'm not Hispanic. I mean, it's a very different thing for me. But at the same time, I just think that human experience gets you so much more interested in, being able to work with these people, being able to work with the people that are affected by the legislation, see how it really impacts their lives....

Juliana acknowledged that she had not been particularly passionate towards immigration issues at the beginning of college. However, first-hand experience working with immigrants made her

more interested in these issues. Earlier in the interview, she illustrated how this experience sustained her commitment to this social issue.

I directly know undocumented immigrants and they're my friends, a family now. I just went to a wedding, actually, of one of the people I worked with and she's undocumented, and she's 23 and she went to college and she's just amazing. And I don't understand like how she did everything that she did, how much strength she has, but it's just like I, I look at her and I'm just like, "Yeah, this is the cause I'm fighting for."

Personal and sustained interactions with immigrants helped Juliana feel connected to this population. At the beginning of the service learning project, she was not connected to this issue or these people, but her general interests in service got her involved in this project. She had many personal interactions with immigrants while she helped translate immigration documents for them, and stayed in touch with some of the immigrants after the service project ended. These sustained personal relationships kept her connected to South American migrant group, and affirmed her motivation towards "fighting for the cause."

First-hand experience or sustained contacts with those whose rights students were working for were often the stimulus that sustained students' motivation towards their value-driven activities. Madeline's experience was similar; listening to the stories from the workers solicited her empathy towards people and sustained her motivation towards the Campus Labor Action Project.

I liked the cause and I was like, yeah. I mean the more stories I hear about what's in individual stories about people's lives who work here that are so unfair, motivate me constantly. I mean they motivated me then when I first heard about it and at this meeting,



students were just like, “Oh, well, so and so was saying this.” I was like, “Oh, my God! (laughs).”

Madeline’s initial motivation towards the campus labor action project was grounded in her desire to work for “the cause.” Later in the interview, she further stated how these stories from workers helped her to have a sense of connection to these people and stand in favor of a living wage to temporary workers in her university despite the possible increase in her tuition.

I mean I think I would be willing to pay a higher tuition for a living wage. (I: Why?)

Because I think that it is, like I think that, I don’t think that it’s right that I should be, I mean I’m just like so privileged. I just am blessed to be born into this family that has enough money to send me to [name of University D] and I think that we should, I mean I should use my privileges and my, the things that I was blessed with to help other people who weren’t as lucky. (I: Where do you think that idea comes from?) I think it comes from empathy, like knowing other people and hearing their stories and knowing that I’m just the same as you inside and I’m, I could as easily been in your shoes and it was just luck that I ended up in mine and a student at [name of University D] rather than working in the dining hall.

Individual stories from underprivileged workers allowed Madeline to reflect on her privilege and recognize that it was given rather than acquired by her efforts. This recognition helped her to respond with empathy, and see herself as not so different from the people she was helping.

Ultimately, she was aware that the workers were “the same as her inside,” which demonstrated an increased sense of connection to those served. As she stated earlier, this sustained her motivation to work passionately for the labor action project, even at her financial sacrifice (i.e., being willingly to pay higher tuition).

Both Juliana and Madeline sustained their commitment to the leadership experiences for a strong sense of connection to the people whom they were serving. Their sense of connection stemmed from empathy, understanding others' situation as if they were their own. These students, even though they came from different backgrounds from those served, searched for a common ground that they could use to understand and connect to others. A sense of connection based on empathy reinforced her commitment to contributing to this group.

### **Gender-related Patterns in the Modes of Engagement**

As was illustrated earlier in this chapter, there were 62 leadership experiences reported by 23 women and 49 leadership experiences by 16 men in this sample. Frequencies of students' modes of engagements reflected in their leadership experiences are summarized by gender in Table 5.4.

Personal modes of engagement were more prevalent than connection modes both for women and men, with 74% of women's and 94% of men's leadership experiences reflecting personal approaches. A gender-related pattern is clear in the proportions of leadership experiences reflecting the connection modes: 39% of women's leadership experiences reflected connection approaches while 18% of men's experiences were associated with connection modes of engagement. Comparing the frequencies of modes of engagement across the years demonstrates similarities as well as differences between women and men. The number of personal leadership experiences increased from Year 1 to Year 2, and then slightly decreased between Years 2 and 3 for both women and men. By contrast, the distribution of connection modes of engagements across years diverges by gender; although it is not statistically significant, the number of women's connection engagements increased between Years 2 and 3 while that of men's slightly decreased.

Table 5.4.  
*Frequencies of Mode of Engagement by Year and Gender*

	<b>Mode</b>	<b>Year 1</b>	<b>Year 2</b>	<b>Year 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Total <i>n</i> =111	Personal	13 (12%)	41 (37%)	38 (34%)	92 (92%)
	Connection	0 (0%)	16 (14%)	17 (15%)	33 (30%)
Women <i>n</i> =62	Personal	5 (8%)	21 (34%)	20 (32%)	46 (74%)
	Connection	0 (0%)	11 (18%)	13 (21%)	24 (39%)
Men <i>n</i> =49	Personal	8 (16%)	20 (41%)	18 (37%)	46 (94%)
	Connection	0 (0%)	5 (10%)	4 (8%)	9 (18%)

One might question whether the gender-related pattern evidenced in Table 5.4 is derived from contextual differences rather than gender differences. In other words, certain leadership contexts such as Greek organizations and identity-based groups often emphasize bonding among members, compared to such organizations as media, theater, or student government, which tend to emphasize goals to be accomplished by members. In a sense, leadership contexts that provided many learning opportunities to build skills or improve abilities might encourage students to act more with personal than connection modes of engagement. In fact, almost two fifths (39%) of leadership experiences representing connection mode occurred in the contexts of social sororities or fraternities. It is noteworthy that 78% of men's connection mode leadership

experiences ( $n=7$  out of 9 connection mode examples) occurred in the contexts of fraternity experiences while 25% of women's connection mode leadership experiences ( $n=6$  out of 24 connection mode experiences) occurred in sorority environments. To better illustrate gender-related patterns in students' modes of engagement, I have selected and compared examples that occurred in similar contexts but demonstrate different approaches.

### **Modes of Engagements in Greek Organizations**

A total of 11 students in the sample were affiliated with either local or national chapters of Greek organizations; four were female and seven were male students. These students shared a total of 21 experiences in the context of sororities or fraternities (about 1/5 of the reported leadership experiences). Of these 21 experiences, all the sorority experiences demonstrated the connection approaches while 43% of men's experiences in Greek organizations reflected connection mode of engagements. This distribution shows that men used the personal mode of engagement more frequently even in the fraternity environments than women in the sororities.

Table 5.5.  
*Frequencies of Modes of Engagement within Greek Organizations by Year and Gender*

	<b>Modes</b>	<b>Year 1</b>	<b>Year 2</b>	<b>Year 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Women $n=7$	Personal	0 (0%)	1 (14%)	0 (0%)	1 (14%)
	Connection	0 (0%)	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	7 (100%)
Men $n=14$	Personal	3 (21%)	5 (36%)	3 (21%)	11 (79%)
	Connection	0 (0%)	3 (21%)	3 (21%)	6 (43%)

Note: Four leadership experiences, one from women and three from men, were double coded for connection and personal modes.

In the previous section, I illustrated Susan's connection mode of engagement with her society; Darcy also used this mode in the context of her sorority. Darcy pledged into the society with hopes to build "strong female relationships" after her mother passed away. Not only was she able to find her niche in the society, but her commitment to the society increased to "force her to take on leadership roles." In her third year interview, she appreciated the leadership opportunities that her involvements in the society provided and also stated why her participation in the society is important to her.

It [joining the society] forced me into leadership roles a lot more. I'm the president of our society this semester and I'm the recruitment chair, so I have a lot of responsibility to my society. Before coming here, people would always typically respect my opinion and know that people usually would know she's a pretty smart girl or whatever. But I've never been like a natural leader type. So being in my society has kind of forced me to take on leadership roles that I maybe otherwise wouldn't have. ... But being in a society, I know for a fact that if I had a problem, my sisters would be there for me. I don't even—it doesn't—no question in my mind. I think that is hugely reassuring. I think that gives society members this fallback net. No matter—I can't think of anything that I would do, that would be so bad that would make my sisters hate me. So I think that's very reassuring. And it's also about ... going with it is a commitment to each other. It's me knowing that if one of my sisters screws up or does anything or needs help or whatever that I'm committed to being there for her. And I think that—it's like reciprocal. It's about—I think that at a small school like [name of College [letter]] or like any small school really, it's really important that you have your niche and I think that societies are one way to fill that niche.

Pledging a society provided an opportunity for Darcy to develop leadership skills, which led her to think about her how she thought about her “not a natural leader” personality type and be pleasantly surprised by her transformation. Although her involvements in the society contributed to her self-development as a leader, what sustained her motivation and commitment towards the society was not a sense of achievement or skill development. Rather, Darcy was pulled into a leadership role and developed her skills based on her deep commitments to her sisters. She was “committed to being there for” her sisters because she felt a strong bond with them and felt responsible for her sisters’ affairs and well-being. In short, this sense of connectedness based on a strong bond and affinity led to increased commitment and supported her in taking a leadership role.

Similarly, Devin, who decided to pledge because a large majority (80%) of students on his campus do so, stated that he was “forced to be best friends” with other brothers. In his first year interview, he also highlighted advantages and learning he would get by being involved in fraternity. Here, he stated his rationale for joining the fraternity.

I need a lot of structure in my life. I was telling you when we were coming down the stairs. It’s just there’s always something. We have to go to chapel and we have to be at lunch and dinner. We have to do study tables and we’re required to be in class and they check that and all that other stuff. It’s just there hasn’t really been, there wasn’t a negative side to it when I was looking into it so. ... I know pledgeship is different everywhere. We’re required to learn a lot about the house and learn a lot about the brothers and do a lot. It’s almost like having two extra classes on top of your regular course load, so that’s been really, really tough, but they’re there to help you and stuff. The waking up early and not going to be late is always a pain, doing the house jobs and

stuff like that, but it's just part of the system. We're gaining respect from the house, by doing the house jobs and by getting up early and managing your time through the day. You get your stuff done and you don't take naps or anything. It's just one of those, not like they're brainwashing you, but they're just getting you into the person you need to be to excel here at [name of College A].

Devin's approach to his fraternity appeared to be different from how Darcy sustained her motivation towards her society. Devin saw the value of joining the fraternity in terms of self-development; he credited the structure of the fraternity program with the improvements in his time management and study skills, and believed that pledging would get him "into the person you need to be to excel here." This motivation is characteristic of the personal rather than connection approach to engagement.

Ken used a similar approach to his fraternity experience. When he was asked about the importance of this experience in his first year interview, he stated personal benefits and learning he redeemed after going through the tough pledge process.

So when pledgeship is over, you can do things because you've done it before, because you pulled an all-nighter to build a float for Homecoming. It's like you're building a float, but you're studying. You've done it before or you've ran on two hours of sleep two days in a row and it's just things like that. Like you know that you've done things before or not necessarily the whole sleep thing. There're a lot of things. You could, at least I can see why they happen I guess. There're reasons for everything. It's not like they're just doing it because it's stupid. It's just something to make us do. ... Oh yeah, the first and foremost thing is for me to get the purpose, and all the guys are telling us this is to get close to the guys in my pledge class. We've had five guys de-pledge for various

reasons. We had 18 and we're down to 13, but the 13 that are there want to be there. We're pretty close knit right now so that's definitely one of the best things. ... That's one of the two main purposes. The other main purpose is to make us better people and there's things we do that do that do us. Like we need to get to know everybody else in the house and I'm not exactly the most outspoken person. I'm pretty quiet, so it kind of forces me out of that comfort zone and get to just talk. We call them interviews. Just get to know everybody in the house and you set up an interview with somebody and it's kind of scary sometimes, asking that senior football player, who's huge, for an interview.

Ken was aware that building close relationships with his house brothers was a major purpose of the fraternity experience. However, the relationships with brothers do not appear to be a major motivating force that sustained his commitment to the fraternity. What strengthened his motivation to go through the tough pledge process was the idea that he would be developing skills applicable to other situations. He appreciated the opportunities to meet others, but a sense of bond built on close relationships was not the major source that kept him in the fraternity experience. To Ken, meeting others enabled him to step out from his comfort zone and learn communication skills. In these ways, Ken's mode of engagement with his fraternity was characteristic of the personal mode of engagement in leadership experiences.

Three examples presented above all occurred in the contexts of Greek organizations. Typically, these organizations emphasized close relationships among members and the intense pledge process that was designed to build a sense of community. While students who participated in Greek organizations were all aware of the importance of close relationships with others, not all students derived their motivation or commitment from the sense of connectedness to others. Women (e.g., Darcy, Susan) tended to draw their motivation from relationships or a



sense of affinity based on the bonding experience, while male students (e.g., Devin, Ken) felt committed because they believed in the value of participating in a fraternity for personal development and to learn new skills. There appears to be a contextual influence in how students approached their leadership experiences as the connection modes of engagements were most frequently observed in the contexts of Greek organizations. However, within the same general contexts of leadership experiences, women were more likely to demonstrate connection modes than were men.

### **Summary and Synthesis: Patterns across Modes**

A review of students' accounts of their experiences revealed two disparate approaches to their leadership experiences, personal and connection modes of engagements. These two modes of involvement diverged in how students derived their motivation and sustained their commitments towards a leadership experiences. Connection mode students increased their commitments and sustained their motivation when they felt a strong sense of connectedness to the people or the group with whom they were working. In contrast, students who used personal modes drew their motivation or commitments from a sense of confidence gained through accomplishing challenging tasks or expressing their own values or beliefs. Within each mode of engagement, I also observed variations in ways that students derived their motivations. Table 5.6 summarizes these variations within each mode of engagement.

Table 5.6.

*Patterns across Modes of Engagement with Leadership Experiences and Variations within the Modes*

<b>Mode of Engagement</b>	<b>Variations with the Mode</b>	
<b><u>Personal</u></b>	<b><u>Task-based</u></b>	<b><u>Value-based</u></b>
Motivation derived from self-improvement	Self-improvement through conducting challenging tasks	Self-improvement through expressing or acting congruently with internal values or beliefs
<b><u>Connection</u></b>	<b><u>Affinity-based</u></b>	<b><u>Empathy-based</u></b>
Motivation derived from sense of affiliation or connection	Sense of affiliation based on similar characteristics among group members or through doing the same activities	Sense of affiliation through feeling empathy toward others with whom they had relationships

Comparing students' modes of engagement by gender revealed that male students were more likely to adopt personal approaches than female students. This gender-relevant pattern was also apparent when comparing leadership experiences occurring in fraternities and sororities. The Greek organizations typically highlight the importance of bonding among members and building a strong sense of community that could sustain years even after graduation. Within this context that has a strong relational component, male students derived their motivation to engage from desire for self-improvement or learning new skills, which demonstrates the prevalence of personal approaches among men.

As I closely examined the differences between the variations within each mode, I postulated that variations within each mode might reflect developmental difference. For example, value-based personal approaches might be more complex than task-based approaches in that mature internal capacity would be a prerequisite to enabling students to articulate their internal values or act on their beliefs (Chickering & Reissier, 1993; Eigel & Kuhnert, 2005). Similarly, empathy-based connection approaches might reflect more complex ways to feel

connected to others than affinity-based approaches because empathy involves the more complex cognitive process of putting oneself in others' situations, as well as emotional processing, which requires more advanced mental capacity (King, Perez & Shim, in press). Given these ideas, in the next chapter, I explore how students' approaches to leadership experiences link to students' capacity for self-authorship. I also compare the trends across gender to examine how students' gender was reflected in their approaches to leadership experiences interacted with their developmental capacity.

## **Chapter 6. COMPLEXITY IN LEADERSHIP ENGAGEMENT**

One purpose of this study is to seek an understanding of how developmental capacities moderated students' engagements with leadership experiences. As was illustrated in Chapter 3, each student's developmental capacity was assessed in terms of self-authorship positions using a scoring protocol established for the purpose of the larger study (Baxter Magolda & King, 2012). In this chapter, I provide an overview of this scoring protocol with the distribution of students' overall meaning making structures. Next, I illustrate relationships between students' meaning making and modes of leadership engagement. I also describe gender-relevant patterns in relation to students' meaning making and modes of leadership engagement.

### **Assessment of Self-Authorship and Distribution of Students' Meaning Making**

As explained in Chapter 3, students' positions to self-authorship were assessed using a 10-point scale continuum toward a self-authored perspective in three domains (cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal) and overall. These ten positions are clustered into four major meaning-making structures: Solely External Meaning Making (Ea, Eb, Ec), Entering the Crossroads (a mixture of external and internal with stronger external influence; E(I), E-I), Leaving the Crossroads (a mixture with stronger internal influence; I-E, I(E)) and Solely Internal Meaning Making (Ia, Ib, Ic). Detailed descriptions of each of the ten positions with four major meaning-making structures are provided in Baxter Magolda and King (2012); a summary of the ten positions are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1.  
*Developmental Pathways Toward Self-Authorship*

Structure	Positions	Definition
<b>Solely External</b>	Ea: Trusting External Authority	Consistently and unquestioningly rely on external sources without recognizing possible shortcomings of this approach
	Eb: Tensions with trusting external authority	Consistently rely on external sources, but experience tensions in doing so, particularly if external sources conflict; look to authorities to resolve conflicts
	Ec: Recognizing Shortcomings of Trusting external Authority	Continue to rely on external sources but recognize shortcomings of this approach
<b>Entering the Crossroads</b>	E(I): Questioning External Authority	Continue to rely on external sources despite awareness of the need for an internal voice. Realize the dilemma of external meaning making, yet are unsure how to proceed
	E-I: Constructing the Internal Voice	Begin to actively work on constructing a new way of making meaning yet “lean back” to earlier external positions.
<b>Leaving the Crossroads</b>	I-E: Listening to the Internal Voice	Begin to listen carefully to internal voice, which now edges out external sources. External sources still strong, making it hard to maintain the internal voice consistently
	I(E): Cultivating the Internal Voice	Actively work to cultivate the internal voice, which mediates most external sources. Consciously work to not slip back into former tendency to allow others’ points of view to subsume own point of view.
<b>Solely Internal</b>	Ia: Trusting the internal voice	Trust the internal voice sufficiently to refine beliefs, values, identities and relationships. Use internal voice to shape reactions and manage external sources.
	Ib: Building an internal foundation	Trust internal voice sufficiently to craft commitments into a philosophy of life to guide how to react to external sources.
	Ic: Securing internal commitments	Solidify philosophy of life as the core of one’s being; living it becomes second nature

Source: Baxter Magolda and King (2012). Assessing meaning making and self-authorship. ASHE Higher Education Report: Volume 38, Number 3: p.19.

Table 6.2 presents the distribution of meaning-making structures across three years among students in the analytic sample and Figure 6.1 graphically depicts the time-series trends. Before delving into the distribution and the longitudinal patterns of students' meaning making, I first comment on my decision to use the four meaning making structures as units for organizing students' developmental maturity rather than the ten positions presented in Table 6.1. This reduction was done primarily because of the size of this sample: the use of all ten positions would have resulted in cell sizes that were too small to allow for meaningful comparison of observable patterns. For this reason, I chose the broader categories of meaning-making structure of my self-authorship analyses.

As is shown in Table 6.2, students using the solely external structure were dominant across three years of college; 59% of students' meaning making represented this structure when combining all the cases across the years. Looking at the patterns by the year, in the first year at college, 90% of the 39 students used this structure. The dominance in the use of solely external structure decreased between years 1 and 2 with almost half the students using this structure in Year 2. This trend persisted for the solely external structure, and in Year 3, this proportion dropped to 38% of students in this analytical sample using this structure. By contrast, the number of students using the structure of entering the crossroads increased almost threefold from Year 1 to Year 2, and then held steady from Year 2 to Year 3 at 33%. There was also a steadily increasing trend in the number of students using both the structures of leaving the crossroads and the solely internal structure. Interpreting the increasing trend among those using the solely internal structure merits caution because the numbers of students using the solely internal structure ( $n=3$ ) were too small to compare the degree of prevalence. This small number in those using the solely internal meaning making is consistent with previous studies that this more

mature structure is typically achieved at later stage of life (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Due to the small number of students using the solely internal meaning making in the sample, I chose to combine two more mature structures into one group (i.e., leaving the crossroads and solely internal meaning making) and do comparative analyses with three groups in this chapter instead of four.

Table 6.2.  
*Number and Percentage of Students Using Each Structure of Meaning Making by Year*

Structure of Meaning Making	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
<b>Solely External</b>	35 (90%)	19 (49%)	15 (38%)	69 (59%)
<b>Entering the Crossroads</b>	3 (8%)	14 (36%)	13 (33%)	30 (26%)
<b>Leaving the Crossroads</b>	1 (3%)	5 (13%)	9 (23%)	15 (13%)
<b>Solely Internal</b>	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	3 (3%)
<b>Total</b>	39 (100%)	39 (100%)	39 (100%)	117 (100%)

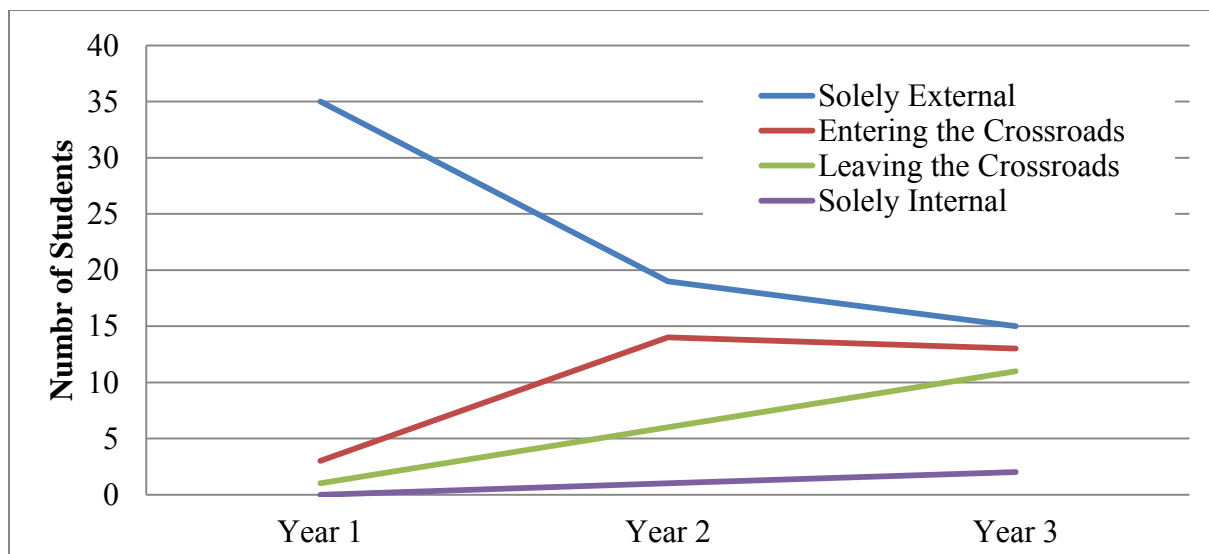


Figure 6.1. Longitudinal Patterns in the Number of Students Using Each Structure of Meaning Making

Table 6.3 presents the number of leadership experiences by students' meaning making structure of each year. Overall, slightly over half of leadership experiences (51.3%,  $n=57$ ) were reported from among students who adopted solely external structure of meaning making. Over the course of three years, the number of leadership experiences reported by externally-oriented students decreased while the number of experiences by students using crossroads or internal meaning-making structure increased. In order to accurately capture the extent of engagement by meaning-making structure, I calculated the average number of leadership experiences by meaning-making structure for each person during Years 2 and 3. Figure 6.2 graphically displays these numbers.

Table 6.3.  
*Number of Leadership Experiences by Self-Authorship Level and by Year*

<b>Structure of Meaning Making</b>	<b>Year 1</b>	<b>Year 2</b>	<b>Year 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Solely External</b> <b>(<math>n=69</math>)</b>	13 (12%)	25 (23%)	19 (17%)	<b>57</b> <b>(51%)</b>
<b>Entering the Crossroads</b> <b>(<math>n=30</math>)</b>	0 (0%)	17 (15%)	17 (15%)	<b>34</b> <b>(31%)</b>
<b>Leaving the Crossroads &amp; Solely Internal</b> <b>(<math>n=18</math>)</b>	0 (0%)	6 (5%)	14 (13%)	<b>20</b> <b>(18%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	13 (12%)	48 (43%)	50 (45%)	<b>111</b> <b>(100%)</b>



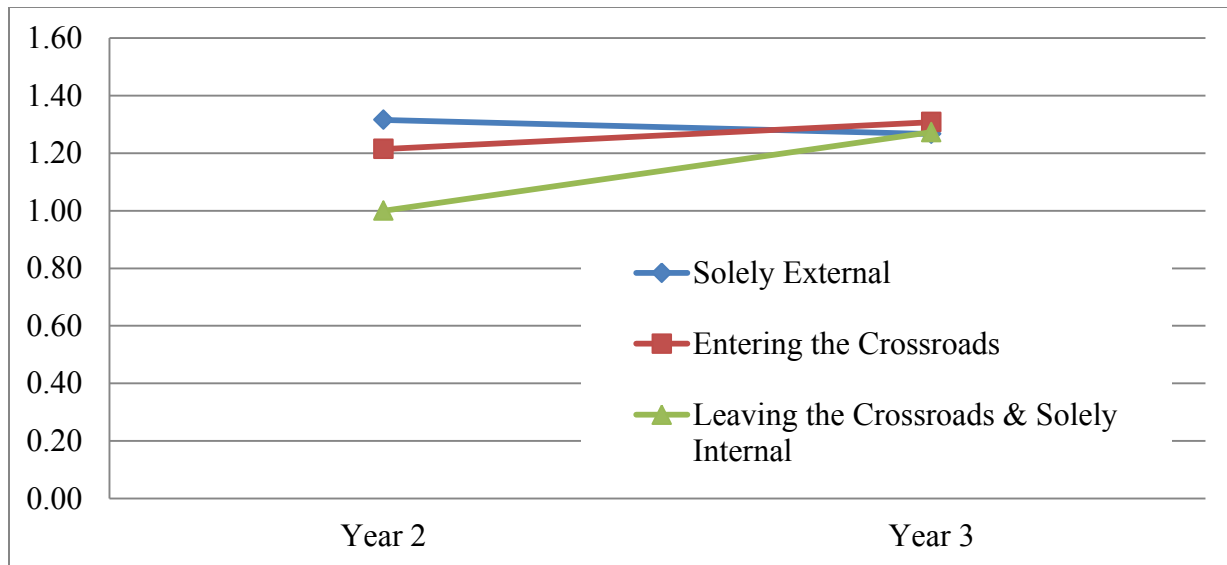


Figure 6.2. Average Number of Leadership Experiences per Person, by Meaning-Making Structure and by Year

As is presented in Figure 6.2, the average number of leadership experiences per person in Year 3 is larger than Year 2 for all structures of meaning making except for the solely external meaning making structure, which remained virtually unchanged between Years 2 and 3, with a slight decrease toward Year 3. For those using entering the crossroads meaning making, there is a slightly increasing pattern toward Year 3. A more noticeable increasing pattern is observed in groups using more mature meaning making (i.e., leaving the crossroads, internal). Students using more mature structures of meaning making had on average more leadership experiences in their Year 3 than in Year 2, whereas students using less complex meaning making structures started with more leadership experiences in Year 2 and continued to be involved in the similar number of experiences in Year 3.

Table 6.4 presents students' modes of engagement (personal and connection) with their leadership experiences by their self-authorship structure for each year; Figure 6.3 graphically depicts the trends. As introduced in Chapter 5, *personal* mode of engagements implies that

students joined a leadership process for personal achievement while *connection* mode denotes students' involvement in groups to build supportive relationships for their own as well as others' well-being. As noted in Chapter 5, a total of 93 experiences were coded for personal mode of engagements and 32 for connection mode of engagements. Fourteen experiences reflected both approaches and thus were double-coded.

Table 6.4.  
*Modes of Engagements in Leadership Experiences by Meaning Making Structure*

Structures	Personal		Connection		Total	
<b>Solely External</b>	51	(82%)	11	(18%)	62	(100%)
<b>Entering the Crossroads</b>	26	(70%)	11	(30%)	37	(100%)
<b>Leaving the Crossroads &amp; Solely Internal</b>	15	(58%)	11	(42%)	26	(100%)
<b>Total</b>	92	(74%)	33	(26%)	125	100%

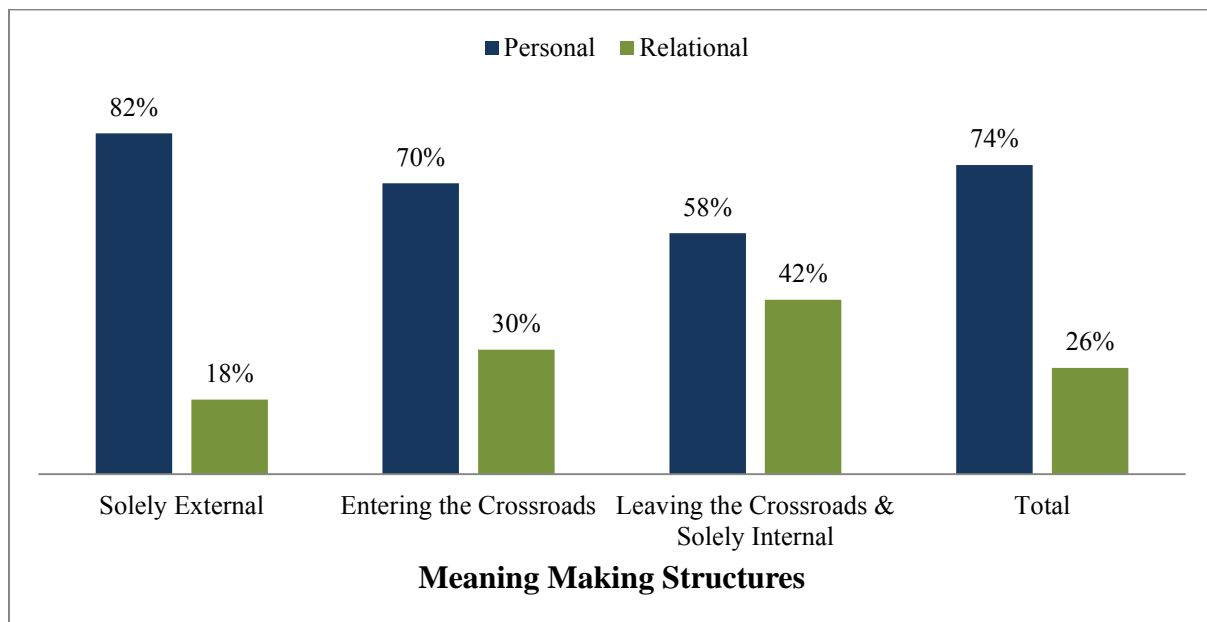


Figure 6.3. Modes of Engagements in Leadership Experiences by Meaning Making Structure

The personal mode of engagement was more prevalent among those who used the external positions of self-authorship: 82% of leadership experiences ( $n=51$ ) reflected these students' personal approaches. In contrast, the connection mode was more frequently demonstrated among students using more mature meaning-making structures (i.e., late crossroads and internal) than those using less complex structures. Among those who used solely external approaches, 18% of leadership experiences were coded as connection mode, whereas the percentages of connection mode examples increased to 42% at leaving the crossroads and solely internal meaning making structures. The data suggest that students using solely external meaning making are more likely to approach leadership experiences with personal modes than their developmentally advanced peers. This trend does not necessarily imply that the connection mode of engagement is a more complex way to engage with leadership experiences; rather, it may suggest that among students using a less complex level of self-authorship, one's own goals or values are a stronger motivator to sustain students' commitments to leadership experiences than the desire to build close, supportive relationships. Alternatively, these trends may imply the developmental nature of navigating relationships in leadership experiences. The connection mode of engagement by nature involves working for others' sake even at the sacrifice of one's own comfort or well-being; consequently, it is understandable that these altruistic behaviors or attitudes are more frequently demonstrated by those at more advanced levels of self-authorship. In light of this finding, a deeper analysis of examples by self-authorship structure within the modes of engagement was warranted to seek an understanding of developmental trends in students' leadership experiences. The following section illustrates how these developmental patterns appear within each mode of engagement.

## **Self-Authorship and Personal Modes of Engagements**

Before delving into a developmental pattern in personal modes of engagement, it is important to note the complexities in self-authorship assessment. The complexity lies in the structure versus content distinction. Self-authorship assessment requires accessing meaning-making structures, which is distinct from hearing what people think or the content of their beliefs. In short, self-authorship assessment seeks an understanding of how people reason about their beliefs, identities, and relationships. Accessing the deep meaning-making structure is possible when people share their reflection on their experiences and further provide justifications about why and how they make sense of those experiences. WNS interviews, by design, prompted participants to reflect deeply on their experiences; however, it is possible that not all the narratives of their experiences represented a deep reflection. Despite being nudged to engage in deep reflection, students were sometimes unable to do so as they described their on-going experiences. Given this, not all the leadership experiences coded for this study are accompanied by narratives that clearly reflect students' self-authorship structures.

There were 92 leadership experiences that exemplified students' personal modes of engagement; that is, students' involvement in a leadership process for self-improvement. Within the personal modes, there were two variations by the ways the students derived their motivation; task-based motivation was gained through achieving the challenging tasks while value-based motivation was gained by acting congruently on own internal beliefs or values. Table 6.5 presents the distribution of personal engagement examples across the structures of meaning making, and Figure 6.4 depicts graphically the associations between meaning making structures and types of personal engagement.

Table 6.5.  
*Leadership Experiences with Personal Engagement, by Self-Authorship Structure and Category*

Meaning-Making Structure	Personal Mode				Total	
	Task-based		Value-based			
Solely External	44	(86%)	7	(14%)	51	(100%)
Entering the Crossroads	18	(69%)	8	(31%)	26	(100%)
Leaving the Crossroads & Solely Internal	9	(60%)	6	(40%)	15	(100%)
Total	71	(77%)	21	(23%)	92	(100%)

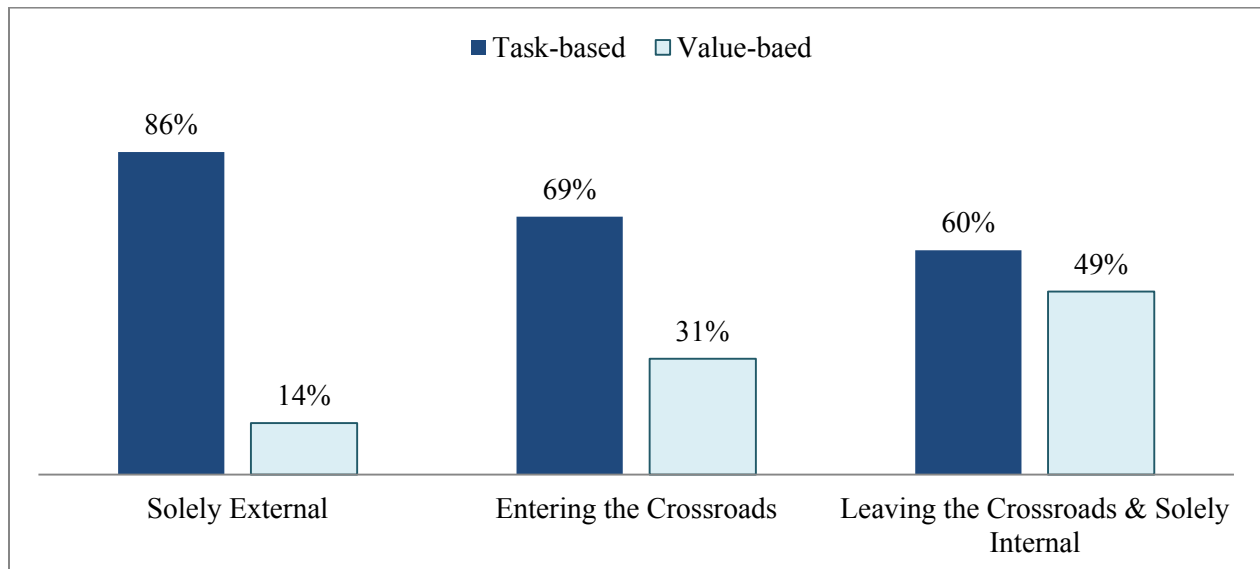


Figure 6.4. Percentages of Types of Personal Engagement within Meaning Making Structure

Task-based personal engagement was more prevalent at the solely external level of self-authorship: 86% of the examples among those students using the solely external structure on the self-authorship continuum demonstrated task-based engagements. At more advanced levels of self-authorship, the percentage of task-based engagement examples decreased to 69% among those using the structures of entering crossroads and further

slightly declined to 60% for those students using leaving the crossroads and the solely internal structures of meaning making. In contrast, value-based engagements show the opposite trend: the percentage of examples increased as students' levels of self-authorship moved from external to internal. While 14% of the examples reported by those students using the solely external structure demonstrated value-based approaches, more than 30% of the examples from those using either crossroads or solely internal approaches showed value-based engagements with leadership experiences.

Taken together, the data suggest that there are associations between students' structures of meaning making and types of personal engagement in leadership experiences. That is, students using more advanced structures on the self-authorship continuum were more likely to join and sustain their motivation involved in leadership experiences because the activities involved were congruent with their values and beliefs. These findings reveal that advanced level students successfully incorporated their internal voices into their choices of and commitments to leadership experiences. Additional analyses of leadership examples within types of personal engagement also reveal how students' meaning-making structures moderated their understanding of their roles in leadership experiences or relationships. In the following section, I illustrate the details of these self-authorship analyses within the two types of personal modes of engagement.

### **Following the External Definition: Personal Mode within Solely External Structure**

Examining leadership experiences across a range of meaning making structures revealed that as students advance in their meaning-making structure, they are more likely to report internal influences in the way they define their roles or responsibilities in a collective relational leadership process. Students who operated using external assumptions tended to use personal

approaches (both task-based and value-based) that were characterized by sticking to the rules, requirements, or norms, guidelines that were externally defined or imposed on them by authorities or by social convention. In a sense, these students were likely to presume externally-prescribed boundaries to their leadership role. Given this, they considered their role in a leadership process as operating within a well-defined boundary and faithfully fulfilled preset requirements involved in the role. Consequently, in situations when the relational leadership process presented unexpected challenges to cross the externally-prescribed boundary in terms of responsibilities or ways of relating to others, students using solely external meaning making typically tended to disregard the emerging sense of discomfort they felt and continued to follow the externally-derived guidelines.

Viola's task-based personal approach to her resident advisor role demonstrated how her external position of self-authorship moderated her understanding of responsibilities involving this role. She was assessed as operating from the middle external position of self-authorship (Eb), which is the second position on the 10-point scale of self-authorship (see Table 6.1). In her second year interview, she shared her sense of achievement and pride from being selected for the resident advisor role that was previously held by one of her highly regarded peers. She saw the tasks involved in the role as an opportunity to boost her confidence and learn interpersonal skills. On the other hand, she was faced with unexpected challenges of negotiating friendships and exercising authority associated with the position.

It's hard when you see them in class because they're like, "Oh, that's my RA. They wrote me, they wrote me up. That person wrote me up." And they have this attitude with you and it's not that you want to write them up, it's that you have to, and so it's just hard for them to go in. It's just, you just feel like the bad guy all the time. I mean even if you're

not their RA anymore and they're not even living on campus or they're 21, they'll, they're still, "Oh, the RA." You're an immediate damper on everything, so.

Doing the job correctly through obeying the rules was very important, as it was one of the indicators of her success in the role. However, serving as an RA for students who were just one year younger than her presented its challenges, which she described elsewhere in her third year interview as "a strain." This was mainly because she needed to enforce the rules and act as an authority. While she felt a responsibility to the college to report misbehavior, she also considered these students to be friends and had to interact with them in classes. This put her in a difficult position, torn between her loyalty to the position and loyalty to her students. Her understanding of her roles (as a friend and as a RA) reflects her external position of self-authorship: she did not yet know how to negotiate two different responsibilities in which the social conventions conflicted with each other. She refrained from acting as a friend and giving caring attention to her residents as she performed her role of RA, an authority figure. Later in the same interview, she found that she could give personalized attention to her residents while still being an RA after the RA training taught her alternative styles of managing the role.

Most people think of an RA as that person that walks around with the radio and writes you up if you're drinking in your room. In training, we spent a lot of time talking about conflict mediation, talking about counseling and I was like, "Well, no, I've never seen an RA do any of that." And so it was like, oh, they do. Wow. I need to be, it made me aware that I needed to be more invested in these girls' lives than just walking down the hall going, "Hey. Blow out that candle." It made me a little more aware of the fact that I needed to know them and know their personalities and know what, just kind of keep a general ear out for what was going on with them because we just, it's such a small school



here that you can, you know what's going on with pretty much everybody. So I mean just because for a while, I tried to kind of distance myself from that. I don't want to know what my residents are doing when I'm not there, don't want to know, but to an extent you need to know, so this kind of shifted my perception of listening to what's going on around campus and what they're saying.

Viola had been constrained by her image of the RA as a rule-enforcer and felt torn between her friendship and her RA responsibilities. Before the RA training session, she chose to ignore misbehaviors of her residents as a way to avoid the conflicts and to negotiate dual roles as a friend and as a RA. Her mounting internal tension and role conflicts were then resolved as her training painted a different image, that the RA is a big sister who is approachable and knows residents more on a personal level. This new understanding about her role got her to reframe her responsibilities and know her residents more personally so that she could look out for her students by staying better informed about any potentially troubling situations. Her solely external structure of meaning making did not yet allow her to formulate internal principles to coordinate two disparate roles (friend and RA). At last, the external guidance gleaned from the RA training helped her to put her RA duties in a different context. With this external guide, she felt comfortable investing her time and emerging in others' affairs as a caring person.

Students using the solely external structure of meaning making typically defined their leadership role based on the conventional definitions. In other words, students conceptualized such roles as requiring seniority, charismatic characteristics, or authority and power. For this reason, students felt perplexed when they were unexpectedly selected as a leader at an early stage of their participation in relational leadership processes. Devin demonstrated this sentiment. He was using the position of Trusting External Authority (Ea) when he "was thrown into" a

leadership role in his college rugby team in his first year. His motivation and commitment towards rugby was task-based: he chose to be involved in the team as a continuation of his high school activity. In his second year interview, he discussed his first practice at college and how he took on the role of coach in the team.

When I was here my senior year of high school, I had an interview with the rugby captain who was a junior at the time and then when I came to school, I already knew him pretty well. We got to practice the first day and started passing and they were like, “Oh, is this how you pass? How do you do this?” It was just I immediately got thrown into the “ask me a question, I’ll show you the answer” and eventually started coaching and everything. I felt really awkward because here I am a freshman coming in. There are juniors and seniors who are kind of the leaders of the team and then here’s this little freshmen coming in and trying to tell everybody what to do, so it was really awkward. But I just got thrown into it. I kind of got stuck with it again... There are other times where I wish I could just show up and play instead of having to sit down 20 minutes before practice and plan what we’re going to do and deal with the faculty and deal with people who have questions or people that need money or this, that and the other thing. There are some days where I just almost don’t want to go to practice.

His college team was not well-established, and the team members in general did not have as much athletic dexterity as Devin himself had. Given his higher level of expertise in playing the sport, he was put into the role of coach on the first day of their practice. Although he had much of the skills and knowledge adequate for coaching the team members, he was reluctant to step up as a coach in the presence of senior students and further felt awkward teaching older students. Despite this sense of discomfort, Devin let himself “thrown into it” to comply with the external

demands of his teammates and be faithful to the administrative duties involved in the role.

Consequently, he felt “stuck” in the role and was living with his frustration, not knowing how to confront and deal with the dissonance.

Narratives of value-based personal engagements reported by students using the solely external structure of meaning making displayed similar sentiments: They followed the externally-defined norms and what was designated by convention. Grace discussed her value-based personal engagement with her service trip to Uganda in her third year interview. She had already been to Uganda in the previous year and then decided to return to the country as a way to act on her Christian faith. She used a position of Recognizing Shortcomings of Trusting External Authority (Ec) when she discussed her decision to go back to Uganda. This example demonstrates how externally-defined students state their values or beliefs.

The whole purpose and the whole reason that I am interested in poverty issues is because of my faith in God. I know in the Testament when Jesus talks so much about giving to the poor and helping the poor and having compassion for the poor and loving your neighbor as yourself, he wasn't just like throwing that out there or just saying it as something we should take lightly. And if you're really serious about loving people around the world, especially your Christian brothers and sisters, I mean, there's a ton of Christians in Uganda, but they're our brothers and sisters, and they don't have water to give their children. There's a problem with that especially when we have so much here with our big screen TVs and our nice furniture and our big houses. I mean, it's just ridiculous. The disparity is staggering, and it's not okay. And I'm having problems dealing with it, and I don't think I'm ever not going to have problems. I think that being unsettled with the issue is a good thing, but it doesn't make my – I can't just be

comfortable here anymore. I guess I can't be satisfied with just being comfortable with all my material comforts ... When you have so much material comfort, Christ says, "it's really hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of heaven because you're so distracted by this." It's so tempting to fall in love with money and think that you can have your security and your material things when everything here is so temporary. Like in – if you really in your living centering your life around the idea of eternity you aren't going to be, like, "Well, it's more important for me to refinish my kitchen than to give this money to a village and completely change their lives so they can have a well to have water." You know, like, I don't know. So I'm kind of like permanently confused with how to react.

Grace's desire to help those in poverty was grounded in her Christian faith. She felt obliged to serve and show compassion towards those in dire status as the biblical teaching told her to do so. While she fully adopted the biblical doctrine as her own, she had not yet discerned her own reasons for doing so. Additionally, she also felt a sense of discomfort with material possessions she enjoyed in the U.S. As she discussed, at the moment of the interview, she was unable to deal with this dissonance between what she had so far enjoyed and the life that she desired to pursue based on her faith. Given her use of the solely external structure of meaning making, she appears to lack an internal voice to coordinate and deal with the dissonance. Ultimately, she reconciled this with another biblical teaching. As these examples demonstrated, personal mode students using the solely external structure of meaning making worked in compliance with externally-defined norms or conventions when they were engaged with a collective relational leadership process. Students' lack of internal voice led to unquestionably seeking and following external norms. Consequently, for these students, deciphering externally defined norms and correctly conducting the duties involved in certain roles or values were important in gaining a

sense of achievement. However, students were involved in multiple roles that were in conflict. In cases of role or value conflicts, students using the solely external structure of meaning making sought external guidance to resolve these conflicts while seeing the boundaries of certain roles or values as fixed and nonnegotiable.

### **Crafting New Understanding: Personal Mode within the Crossroads Structure**

Students' personal approaches within crossroads positions of the self-authorship continuum reflected more complex understanding about the leadership roles or values involved in their participation in leadership experience. Students at the crossroads to self-authorship were aware of role conflicts caused by taking multiple roles at a given point in time. Instead of not being aware of or disregarding the tensions, students started to reframe the responsibilities and craft new understanding about the leadership roles. Sean used a position of the Entering the Crossroads structure towards self-authored views when he took the role of Orientation Leader in his second year. Sean felt apprehensive when he was assigned to work with transfer students and realized that all of his group members were older than him. His initial apprehension was, however, transformed into appreciation as he took a different angle to view his leadership experience.

Having my OWLs [Orientation Week Leaders] there or having my little OWLs, students who are three years older than me, look up to me a little bit, and being in that position and of being responsible. And it just made me feel more confident in saying that, OK so these people are all older than me. I was the youngest one in the entire group, but they can still learn from me and I can still learn from them.

Sean felt confident as his older peers looked upon and respected him as a leader. He was aware that he had authority as a leader, but did not forget that he was the youngest among the group he

was leading and guiding. In this situation of switched seniority and authority, he began to recognize that age was not necessarily a substitute for experience and that guiding people who were older than him was still possible. Sean did not rely on the positional authority given to him as a formal leader in a group when he negotiated role conflicts; instead, he saw that he could also learn from advisees and began to embrace a new understanding of leadership as a mutually learning relationship.

Leadership experiences reported by students using the crossroads meaning-making structure demonstrated value-based personal approaches more than did those who used externally-defined students. People using this structure start to realize the dilemma of external definition, feel the need to craft an internal voice, and further work actively to cultivate this voice. These increasing capabilities for constructing one's own internal voice likely enable people to reflect on their values, beliefs, and plans, and further approach their leadership experiences based on their internal values or beliefs. Amber was one such student; she was using the Leaving the Crossroads position (I-E) to self-authorship. She introduced herself as Christian and strongly endorsed values of helping and serving others. Serving as a resident advisor, she thought that the role was congruent with her values, and considered the core responsibilities of her job as caring, serving, and helping her residents. Since her motivation towards the role was derived from her values, this experience was coded as value-based personal engagement. In her second year interview, she discussed the nature of her role as RA.

You never clock out, whether you're on call, which is you're acting like you're a cop at sometimes, you're their mother, their friend, their confidante, their nurse, their psychiatrist sometimes. I'm their tutor. Basically anything that they need help with or anything that you can help guide them, to lead them to, you do that. I always tell my

residents, “I may not know the answer, but I can lead you to someone who can get you the answer.” So that’s basically my job. I’m kind of like a liaison between them and help. She demonstrated complex understanding of the RA role. Compared to Viola, who primarily defined the position as involving patrolling and writing up misbehaving residents, Amber viewed her RA role as multi-faceted and meeting varied needs of her residents. She also knew that she did not have all the answers, yet acknowledged that she could be a liaison between her residents and other sources of assistance. Her complex understanding about her RA role was also manifested when she was faced with tensions caused by overly demanding residents. Here, she discussed the dilemma of serving others to the sacrifice of her own needs.

But I’m a feeler, and I try to help people as much as I can, and when you have a resident coming in your room at 2:00 in the morning or 1:00 in the morning, crying because of this or having problems with that, it’s kind of, and you’re like, “I need to do this for myself,” or “I’m trying to do work,” that kind of takes a back burner to someone else and their emotions, and their feelings. But also you have to tell them to be respectful of your time, and just like how you would give them respect, you want them to give you the same exact respect, and stuff like that. So it’s hard to put yourself first sometimes, but I think it all balances out in the end.

Amber was aware of the sacrifice she was making to be in full service to her residents. Although serving and helping others was important to her sense of self, she felt frustrated when her residents did not respect her time and efforts as much as theirs. Instead of disregarding her emerging sense of tension and continuing to put others first, she acknowledged that her internal needs were as important as serving others’ demands and realized that she sometimes needed to put herself first. Unlike the examples illustrated in the previous section (e.g., Viola), Amber with

her emerging internal voice not only had complex understanding about her helping role that guided her actions, but also listened to her own reactions and acknowledged her own needs.

These examples of personal engagement within the crossroads structure of meaning making show more complex understanding about leadership roles or values than those reported by externally driven students. Students using this structure had started to see the limitations of externally prescribed definitions of roles or values and gradually realized the need to incorporate their own views on their leadership roles or values into their practices. For example, Sean, who used the Entering the Crossroads approach, was at first puzzled by the idea of leading older peers, but later realized that leadership was not necessarily grounded in seniority or authority. Amber started her RA job with complex understanding about the role based on her value in helping and serving others. Although she valued service to others, she did not blindly adapt to others' demands; rather, she also acknowledged the tensions between serving her own and others' needs. Ultimately, she realized that her needs were as important as others'. In short, students using the crossroads structure of meaning making, with its characteristic emerging internal voice, started to construct a new, more complex understanding about their leadership roles and values.

### **Self-authorship and the Connection Mode of Engagement**

There were 33 connection engagement examples in this sample; 85% exemplified affinity-based and the rest (15%,  $n=5$ ) showed empathy-based engagement with leadership experiences. Affinity is the basic sentiment formed between similar people while empathy is more complex emotion generated from trying to enter into others' feelings or understand others' vulnerability. Table 6.6 summarizes how types of connection mode engagement in leadership



experiences relate to students' levels of self-authorship; Figure 6.5 displays graphically the trends associated between types of connection mode engagements and self-authorship positions.

At the solely external structure of meaning making, all the examples demonstrated affinity-based connection engagements. Empathy-based connection engagements were visible within description of experiences of students using more advanced meaning making structures; 27 % of examples from the Entering the Crossroads and 18% of examples from the Leaving the Crossroads and Solely Internal meaning making demonstrated empathy-based connection mode of engagement. Students using more advanced structures of meaning making could formulate a sense of connection based on empathy, which further enabled them to build coalitions, even with those from different backgrounds. The number of leadership experiences ( $n=5$ ) demonstrating empathy-based connection mode of engagement was too small to compare nuances across different meaning-making structures. Meanwhile, additional illustrations within affinity-based connection approaches reveal the nuances in ways students reacted to affinity-based relationships across different structures of meaning making. In the following section, I illustrate these nuances reflected in students' affinity-based commitments along the different structures of meaning making.

Table 6.6.

*Leadership Experiences with Connection Mode of Engagements by Type and Self-Authorship*

Meaning Making Structure	Connection Mode of Engagement				Total	
	Affinity-based		Empathy-based			
Solely External	11	100%	0	0%	11	100%
Entering the Crossroads	8	73%	3	27%	11	100%
Leaving the Crossroads & Solely Internal	9	82%	2	18%	11	100%
Total	28	85%	5	16%	33	100%

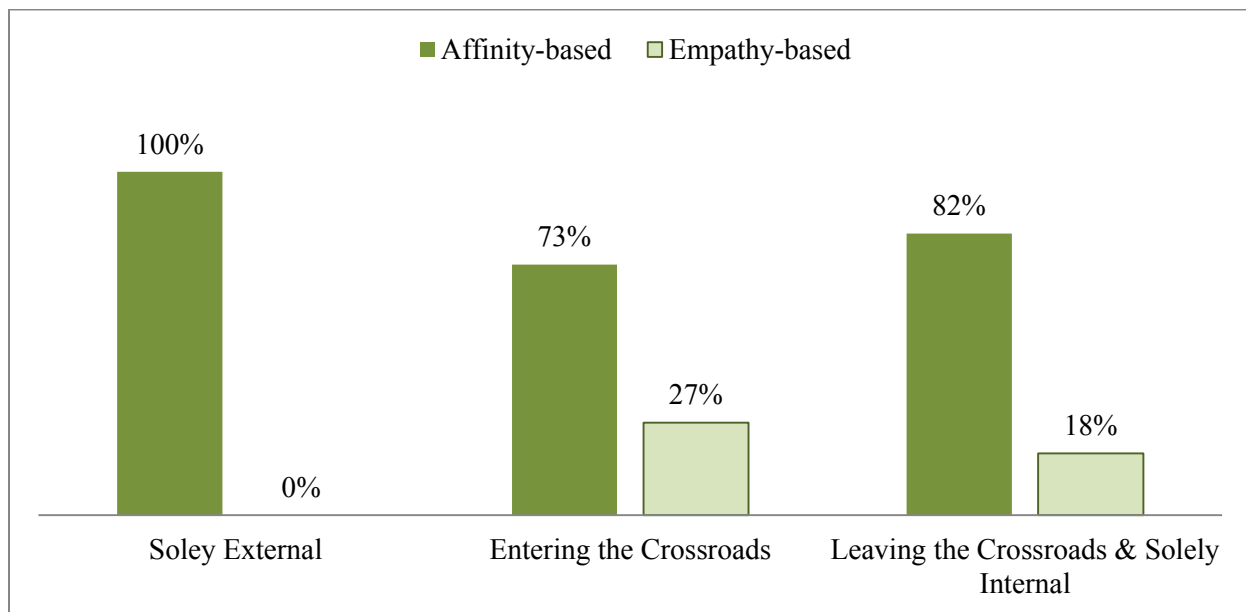


Figure 6.5. Connection mode of engagements examples by self-authorship and category

### **Being Selfless in Relationships: Connection Mode within the Solely External Structure**

Students' connection modes of engagements within the solely external structure of meaning making are characterized by efforts to please others despite a sense of discomfort in doing so. Susan's affinity-based connection approach to her society exemplified this sentiment. She used the middle external position (Eb) to self-authorship when she discussed her strong

attachment to her society (a local sorority chapter) sisters. As was illustrated in chapter 5, since she joined the society to build strong, intimate friendships, her example was coded for affinity-based connection engagement. In her second year interview, she also discussed how she was able to form a strong affinity to the group.

I would say it [joining the society] helped me become more aware of other people's feelings because everything you do really impacts your sisters. Like every little things you didn't necessarily think of. If you have a normal group of friends and you decide to go do something by yourself one night with another group of friends, your first group of friends aren't going to be hurt by that, but your sisters just assume you're all going to do stuff together. So you become really aware of what other people want and what you need to do for them, and become more selfless. And if your sister asks you to do something like take her to the airport even though you hate driving to [name of airport], you'll do it. ... It's really, it's intense, but it's also really fulfilling because as much as you go out of your way to please other people, they're doing the same thing for you. That intense moment of just feeling like this sisterhood sucks and I hate it and my sisters suck to being like I have the best sisters in the world, this is amazing, I'm so glad I did this. It's just like you never know what you're going to get.

Joining the society allowed Susan to gain a close-knit group of friends that she considers analogous to sisters. She paid keen attention to what her fellow members wanted from her and further tried to accommodate their requests. Although she appreciated the close relationships with sisters and support from the society, it was "intense" to run errands to please others. She compensated for this feeling of discomfort by focusing on the benefits returned from her service to others. However, it is evident that she did not have the internal voice to confront her feelings

of discomfort in these relationships and negotiate the nature of relationships; instead, her desire to please others was more prominent at the moment. In short, the assumptions driving external meaning making lead her to focus on others' feelings in order to earn validation or acceptance from her sisters, becoming "selfless" in relationships.

Joseph's narratives on his leadership roles in fraternity also exemplified this sentiment of being "selfless." He pledged the fraternity in his first year because he was seeking "a family away from home." Since joining his organization, he held two leadership positions: philanthropy chair and RUSH chair. In his second year interview, he discussed his criteria for recruiting new pledges and how he tried to approach his job with selflessness.

... making sure that, as far as RUSH goes, we had a good group of solid individuals and who can really carry on the house and continue what we have built and making sure that with recruiting, it was always making sure we caught the students who exemplified what the house is and what the fraternity is rather than I really like this one individual so let's bid him. It was always look out for what's the best for everyone. I think the selflessness that was associated with that was very beneficial. Just making sure that you realize that some decisions, what may benefit you personally, is not what's best for everyone. I mean it'd be great to have people that I immediately click with in the house, but also to have people that initially I may have been reluctant to talk, too. They also had great perspectives and great history in that sometimes it's hard, but it's always a good experience and very beneficial to get to know people who have different backgrounds to build up that diversity. ... Just to be able to understand where everyone's coming from and to really be able to approach situations in different ways depending on what's going to work the best. I think I've become a lot more easy going in trying to be more

understanding in what I do. Just because you really have to when you're living with such a diverse group of people, but I think that's definitely. It's always good to try and understand why people want to do or don't want to do something and also to avoid conflict and be more productive as a whole.

Joseph's statement demonstrated that the criteria for selecting pledge brothers were oriented toward the good of the group rather than reflecting his preferences. At the time of his second year interview, he was using the position of Recognizing Shortcomings of Trusting External Authority (Ec), and was still reliant on external sources to resolve conflicts of his own and others' expectations. He had yet to recognize the necessity of his sense of self in terms of sorting out others' expectations and defining the nature of his relationships. It is important to note that the narrative presented above was not as reflective of his overall meaning making structure as his way of thinking about his approach to leadership experiences. However, based on the whole interview, his meaning making was assessed as reflecting the solely external structure. Given his overall meaning making structure grounded in the external authorities, he chose to rule out his personal interests and looked to other brothers for criteria. Missing in his rationale of doing what worked best for everybody was the fact that he himself was the member and thus his opinion also mattered in decision making. As external criteria took precedence, he chose to be selfless and not incur any conflicts despite feelings of discomfort.

Both Susan's and Joseph's examples emphasized the importance of pleasing others in managing relational dynamics of leadership experiences. Students using the solely external structure of meaning making were selfless in a sense, as they did not acknowledge their own needs or subsumed their interests and needs to meet others' demands. Susan willingly became selfless and paid keen attention to what her sisters wanted to sustain her affinity-based

motivation towards the society. Joseph put what was beneficial to his fraternity brothers before his own interests for the larger good, and chose to be more understanding of different others in order to avoid any potential conflicts. Students' selfless approach to relationships demonstrated their solely external structures of meaning making. Using the external structure, students deferred to others' ideas and opinions, acted to gain approval from others, and tried to avoid conflicts because their internal voices were, if any, weak or were just starting to bud. Consequently, students operating with the external structure of meaning making did not recognize their own interests and worked to live up to others' expectations for sustaining interpersonal connections in leadership experiences.

### **Including One's Own Voice in Relationships: Connection Mode within the Crossroads and Solely Internal Structures**

Students' connection modes of engagement within crossroads or solely internal positions of self-authorship reflected more internally-driven ways of navigating relationships. Students still valued relationships, but in situations of interpersonal conflict, they no longer avoided or disregarded their feelings of discomforts. Instead, they acknowledged their own needs and recalibrated the relationships that caused internal conflicts. Among this small set of experiences, these students chose to leave the relationships that were in conflict with their own needs after feeling the need to put oneself first. Joseph, whose position of self-authorship had moved to Cultivating the Internal Voice (I[E]) in his third year, demonstrated this sentiment. As was illustrated in the previous section, Joseph muffled his own interests to please his brothers in the rush process in his second year. Subsequently, he was faced with tough interpersonal situations in which he should confront some of his fraternity brothers who disrespected his personal space.

In his third year, he decided to act on his needs and moved out of the fraternity house after feeling the need to have his own space. He discussed how he made this decision.

I'd say the biggest thing is how important can the network making, how important friends are. I was in a fraternity my first two years and then now I'm living on my own in an apartment, but I think it's really showed me how much you can learn about yourself from living with other people. I really, I just wanted my own space now, but living in the fraternity definitely was that conflict resolution in action and learning how to minimize harm from little things. People borrow stuff without asking and trying to balance that. You know what's right and what's wrong. What's really a big deal and what's not? I think that's the biggest kind of college experiences that, I think I'm better able to handle tough situations and to be able to articulate my positions on things with that fraternity experience and some of the other things I've already mentioned. So I think that's a big deal.

Joseph's willingness to move out of his fraternity in order to ease tensions from living with many other men was indicative of his growing internal voice. Friendship and networking were still important to him; however, he chose to confront his discomfort and listen to his needs. Moving out might have caused interpersonal qualms because the fraternity emphasized the importance of building a close-knit community where brothers live and do things together. Despite the potential conflicts, Joseph felt comfortable moving out, but was also able to maintain a healthy relationship with friends in the house. Now instead of seeking his brothers' approval, he felt confident in articulating his positions and acting on his internal needs in relationships.

Darcy, who joined the society for a strong sense of connection to sisters, also discussed the changes in her attitude towards relationships with her sisters in the third year interview.

Here, she shared how she became more confident in putting herself into relationships while also negotiating external demands.

I was very, very, very eager to please people. And it's funny because in high school, I was very much more concerned with looking out for myself. So I came here very like, "I'm doing what's best for me," and then within a semester was in a position where I was like, "No, I'll do whatever you want. It's okay," like I don't want to step on anyone's toes or offend anyone. And then have, from that point, been coming back to more of a middle position of like I don't—I don't—I don't think there's ever a reason to be disrespectful to people or to treat them unkindly. You should always [have] certain human respect that everyone deserves. But at the same time, it's not getting stepped on too, so I think that I perhaps a little bit too harsh—maybe didn't give everyone the full respect they deserved when I very, very first got here, but then went to the opposite extreme of like could not stand up for myself to save my life. And I think I'm—I'm, maybe not quite there yet, but I think I'm getting to a much better balance of taking care of myself and others.

In her third year, Darcy used the Trusting the Internal Voice position (Ia) of self-authorship, which is characterized as including the capacity to allow people to refine their internal beliefs and engage in continued revaluation of relationships. Her statement illustrated her complex understanding about external and personal expectations about relationships. She was aware that she had been swinging between taking care of herself versus others in terms of managing relationships, and also acknowledged the necessity to sometimes stand up for herself in the midst of external expectations. It sounds as if she was learning the ways to balance between external



and personal expectations of relationships and felt more confident in navigating complexities in relationships.

The examples provided here by Joseph and Darcy demonstrate that their connection mode of engagements were internally driven; both the students felt comfortable standing up for their own needs even in cases of the potential conflicts between external and internal expectations. Joseph shared that he learned the importance of articulating his positions in tough relational situations, while Darcy felt more confident in balancing taking care of herself and others. They were either using crossroads or internal structures of meaning making which gave them greater capabilities to reflect and actively construct their internal foundation than did externally-oriented students. Overall, these findings suggest that at more advanced positions of self-authorship, students who were attracted to leadership experiences for a strong sense of connection were capable of incorporating their own voices into their relationships.

### **Gender Influences in Leadership Experiences across Meaning Making Structures**

The last question I address in this chapter is whether there were gender-related patterns in ways that the students' self-authorship moderated their approaches to leadership experiences. Table 6.7 presents the distribution of meaning making structure by gender, and Figure 6.6 shows the longitudinal trends in proportions of students using each structure. Combining scores across years, solely external meaning making was prevalent with smaller proportion of women (55%) using the solely external structure than men (65%). Entering the Crossroads meaning making was markedly more prevalent among women than men, while more advanced meaning making was comparable between groups.

Table 6.7.

*Number and Percentage of Students Using Each Structure of Meaning Making by Year and Gender*

Meaning Making Structure		Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
Women	<b>Solely External</b>	19 (83%)	9 (39%)	10 (44%)	38 (55%)
	<b>Entering the Crossroads</b>	3 (13%)	11 (48%)	7 (30%)	21 (30%)
	<b>Leaving the Crossroads &amp; Solely Internal</b>	1 (4%)	3 (13%)	6 (26%)	10 (14%)
	<b>Total</b>	23 (100%)	23 (100%)	23 (100%)	69 (100%)
Men	<b>Solely External</b>	16 (100%)	10 (62%)	5 (31%)	31 (65%)
	<b>Entering the Crossroads</b>	0 (0%)	3 (19%)	6 (38%)	9 (19%)
	<b>Leaving the Crossroads &amp; Internal</b>	0 (0%)	3 (19%)	5 (31%)	8 (17%)
	<b>Total</b>	16 (100%)	16 (100%)	16 (100%)	48 (100%)

The longitudinal patterns in Figure 6.6 reveal that proportions of students using more advanced meaning making (i.e., leaving the crossroads, solely internal) steadily increased between Years 1 and 3 for both women and men. An interesting pattern is observed in terms of solely external and entering the crossroads meaning making. The proportion of solely external meaning making decreased in Year 3, while that of those leaving the cross meaning making increased during the same period. Interestingly, for women, the same pattern is apparent between Years 1 and 2, but the trend is reversed between Years 2 and 3. In other words, an increasing trend between Years 2 and 3 is shown in the percentage of solely external meaning making and a decreasing pattern appears in the proportion of women students entering the

crossroads during the same period. Understanding this regressive pattern among female students merits a discussion about the complexity of developmental processes. Contrary to the assumption that has frequently been ascribed to constructive developmental theories, the patterns of development are far from smooth, linear progressions. Rather, the patterns are characterized by shifting ranges of developmental stages (Baxter Magolda & King, 2012; King and Kitchener, 1994); that is, it is typical rather than exceptional that students have access to – and use – multiple meaning making structures at any given time. Within this range of accessible meaning making positions, students' levels of performance are dependent on the availability of support and feedback. Thus, the regressive pattern observed from among female students in this study might signal changes in the availability of support or feedback during two time points. In other words, female students may have had low support in their third year, which partly led them to revert back to their prior level of performance adequate for their daily functioning.

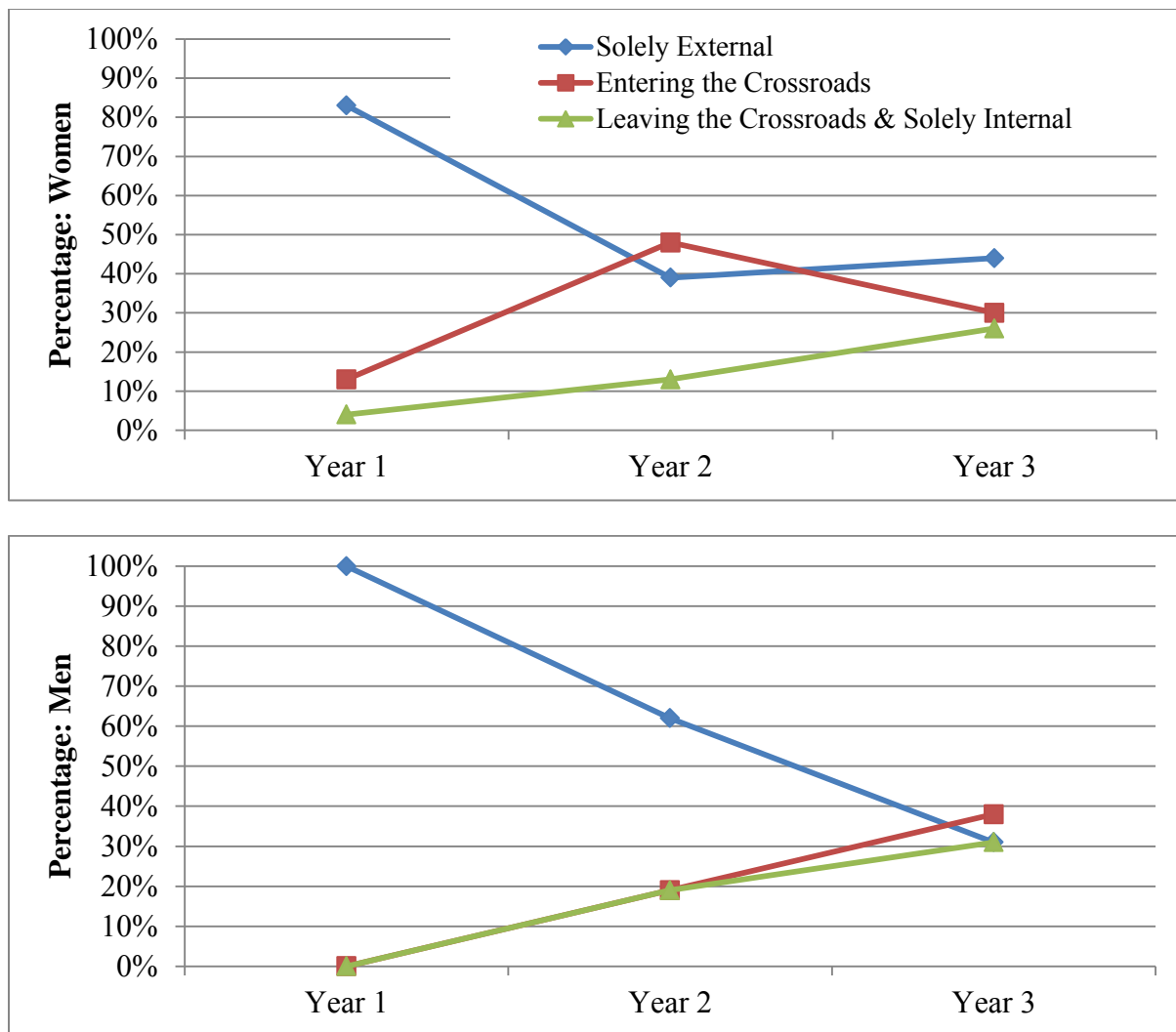


Figure 6.6. Longitudinal Trends in Percentages of Women and Men Students Using Each Structure of Meaning Making

Next, to explore gender-related patterns in the influence of students' meaning making in their approaches to leadership experiences, I compared the numbers of students' leadership experiences demonstrating each mode of engagements within each level of self-authorship across gender. Table 6.8 presents these numbers and proportions of each mode within a meaning making structure.

Table 6.8.

*Numbers and Proportions of Leadership Experiences Demonstrating Each Mode of Engagement by Gender and Meaning Making*

		Personal				Connection				Total	
		Task		Value		Affinity		Empathy			
Women	Solely External	20	61%	5	15%	8	24%	0	0%	33	100%
	Entering the Crossroads	10	43%	5	22%	5	22%	3	13%	23	100%
	Leaving the Crossroads & Solely Internal	2	14%	4	29%	6	43%	2	14%	14	100%
	Total	32	46%	13	20%	19	27%	5	7%	70	100%
Men	Solely External	24	86%	2	7%	3	7%	0	0%	28	100%
	Entering the Crossroads	8	53%	4	27%	3	20%	0	0%	15	100%
	Leaving the Crossroads & Solely Internal	7	58%	2	17%	3	25%	0	0%	12	100%
	Total	39	71%	8	15%	9	15%	0	0%	55	100%

Students using the solely external structure of meaning making primarily utilized task-based personal approaches to leadership experiences. This trend was stronger for men than women; 86% of male students' experiences demonstrated the task-based personal mode while 61% of female students' experiences did so. The proportions of task-based personal engagements decreased among those using more advanced structures of meaning making, with a sharper decline evident among women than for men. Men's task-based personal engagements

dropped from 86% to 53% and then increased modestly to 58% as the meaning-making structures moved from entering to leaving the crossroads. By contrast, the proportions of female students' task-based personal engagements were on a steady downtrend trend (61%, 43%, and 14%, respectively) and none of the experiences of women using the solely internal structure of meaning making demonstrated this mode. Overall, task-based personal engagements decreased in frequency as students' structures of meaning making moved from the solely external towards the solely internal. It is important to highlight that half of the male students' leadership experiences demonstrated task-based engagements, even among those who were using the crossroads structure of meaning making; this suggests that this type of engagement may be predominant among male students across various positions of self-authorship.

Value-based personal engagements were more prevalent among students who were using the crossroads structure of meaning making than those operating with the solely external structure for both women and men. With the exception of early crossroads positions, women tended to utilize value-based engagements more than men; both at external and late crossroads, women used value-based engagements twice as often as men. At the early-crossroads positions, men utilized value-based engagement more than women, but the differences between men and women were not as large as they were at external or late-crossroads positions. Taken together, findings from this study suggest that female students are more likely to adopt value-based approaches to leadership experiences than men.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, connection (affinity- and empathy-based) modes of engagement were more prevalent among women than men. However, the trends across different structures of meaning making were similar: connection modes of engagement were twice as high among those using the Leaving the Crossroads or Solely Internal structure of

meaning making than those using the solely external structure. There were 44% of women's leadership experiences with affinity-based connection mode of engagements among those female students using the leaving the crossroads structure compared to 24% of those using the solely external structure. For male students, one-fifth of their leadership experiences reported by those using the leaving the crossroads structure exemplified affinity-based engagement, while among those using the solely external structure, less than 10% of leadership experiences demonstrated the same approaches. Empathy-based connection mode of engagement was utilized only by female students who were using the entering the crossroads or solely internal structure of meaning making.

To summarize, gender differences were most striking in the use of task-based personal engagements (and these were more prevalent overall). Although the proportions of both men's and women's task-based engagement decreased among those using more advanced structures of meaning making, more than half of the men's leadership experiences within these structures of meaning making still demonstrated task-based engagements. This finding suggests that men's primary mode of engagement with leadership experiences was personal; that is, male students participated in leadership experiences to gain personal development or achievement. By contrast, women were more apt to use a connection mode of engagement, implying that women were engaged with leadership processes for a sense of connectedness to others. Notably, among those using more advanced structures of meaning making, relationships based either on affinity or empathy provided a primary motive for female students to remain engaged in their leadership experiences. In addition, women had a greater propensity towards value-based engagements than men. Taken together, women were more likely to utilize varied modes of engagements

when approaching their leadership experiences than men, who utilized primarily task-based personal modes across different structures of meaning making.

### **Summary and Synthesis**

Organizing the data by meaning-making structure within each engagement mode or type revealed that developmental complexities moderated students' interpretation of and approaches to their leadership experiences. Not only were more complex modes of engagements prevalent among those using more advanced structures of meaning making, but students' understanding of their leadership roles, values or relationships was more complex. In Table 6.9, I provide a synthesis to capture this increasing complexity. As shown there, students who used the Solely External structure of meaning making tended to follow externally defined roles, act on values defined by their upbringing, or gratify others' expectations as a way to sustain their relationships. In contrast, students used more advanced meaning making structures (i.e., Entering or Leaving the Crossroads and Solely Internal structures) were capable of crafting new understanding of their roles and bringing their sense of self to their values or relationships.



Table 6.9.

*Synthesis: Characteristics of Modes of Leadership Engagement by Meaning Making Structure*

<b>Modes of Engagements</b>		<b>Solely External</b>	<b>Crossroads or Solely Internal</b>
		<b><u>Following external definitions</u></b>	<b><u>Crafting new understanding</u></b>
<b>Personal</b>	Task-based	Work to fulfill external definition of roles or responsibilities; Experience role conflicts	Take different angles on given tasks or externally prescribed role definitions
	Value-based	Act on values defined by own upbringing or social background; Follow conventional definitions of values or beliefs	Incorporate internal voice or needs into value-based actions
<b>Connection</b>	Affinity-based	<b><u>Being selfless</u></b>	<b><u>Include own voice in relationships</u></b>
		Sustain relationships by pleasing others; Muffle own internal needs to gratify others' expectations	Negotiate and seek balance between own and external expectations in building and maintaining relationships

Gender-relevant patterns were also observed. Combining the 3-year-long distributions of meaning making structures, solely external meaning making was prevalent among both genders, with slightly larger proportion of men using the Solely External meaning making than women. More women (30%,  $n=21$ ) than men (19%,  $n=9$ ) over three years were using Entering the Crossroads meaning making. In terms of more advanced meaning making structures, gender difference was small, with slightly more women using these advanced structures than men.

Overall, findings indicate that task-based personal modes of engagements were more prevalent among men across varied positions of self-authorship. Although the prevalence of task-based engagements was lower at more advanced positions, more than half of men's leadership experiences still demonstrated task-based engagements. In terms of female students' engagement with leadership experiences, more diverse modes of engagements were utilized.

Connection modes were more prevalent among women and value-based personal engagements were also more frequently observed in women's narratives. In the next chapter, I will interpret these findings and discuss the implications for higher education and future research about college student leadership development.

## **Chapter 7. DISCUSSION**

The purpose of this study was to learn about leadership experiences among college students, to identify gender-related patterns in these experiences, and to explore the role of developmental maturity in students' understanding of their leadership experiences. For this study, leadership is defined as a relational process where people work together toward a common goal (Astin et al., 1996). With this definition, I focused on key features of leadership experiences, exploring how students approach a relational process and sustain their commitment toward the leadership process. Accordingly, I analyzed three-year longitudinal interviews from 39 college students using a grounded theory method. This study provided an in-depth understanding about how students approached and interpreted their leadership engagement and also about the factors prompted students' involvement in a relational leadership process. In this chapter, I summarize and highlight what I learned from this study and discuss the implications for research and practice.

### **Prior Experiences and College Expectations Matter**

Students in my analytic sample all engaged more than two leadership experiences during the first three years of college attendance. As explained in Chapter 3, I selected these students for the purpose of eliciting sufficient examples of leadership engagement. During my analysis, I was surprised to find that many students in the sample had already

experienced leadership roles in high school and demonstrated a willingness to be engaged with a relational leadership process at the onset of college. In fact, in their first year interviews, one third of students (13 out of 39 students) spoke about their high school leadership positions (e.g., class president, team captain, fundraiser) and demonstrated strong initiative to further develop their leader image and/or leadership skills by participating in collegiate leadership experiences. Students who had not experienced leadership roles in high school shared that they wished to participate further in leadership experiences to increase their leadership and/or interpersonal skills. After reflecting on this phenomenon, I came to the conclusion that my sampling strategy resulted in selecting not only those who likely had more leadership experiences, but also those who had a strong predisposition towards leadership activities. Subsequently, I looked in more detail at students' predispositions.

The findings from this study revealed assumptions that prompted students to engage in collegiate leadership experiences. For example, students in this study understood college education as encompassing more than classroom learning and as a preparatory step to career and adult life. They also highlighted important social aspects of college life as much as academic aspects in order to acquire necessary skills. Given this, maximizing the benefits of college implies having a range of experiences beyond classroom learning. Students were not necessarily unaware of the importance of classroom learning and academic performance; to the contrary, they placed classroom learning as one of their top priorities. At the same time, these students found a balance between academic performance and co-curricular engagement with expectations that these balanced engagements would provide them with maximum benefits of a collegiate education. This finding might highlight the importance of promoting certain expectations about a college education. If students expected only academic experiences from college education,

they would be less likely to turn to co-curricular engagements as places for learning and development.

Another component of students' predisposition towards leadership experiences was their desire to sustain their high school interests in college. It was often the case that students chose their collegiate leadership activities based on what they had already enjoyed in high school. This finding can be linked to previous studies that highlight the importance of considering pre-collegiate factors when studying college students' learning and development. In fact, many previous studies used Astin's (1993) classic model of the Input-Environment-Outcome (IEO) to study college impact, noting the importance of controlling for students' pre-collegiate characteristics. Although pre-collegiate factors have been often considered as important in studying college impact, relatively few previous studies discussed how and to what extent they influence students' collegiate engagement. The findings from this study provided a clue to the amount of influence that students' prior experienced had on their engagement with subsequent experiences. In his influential book, *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938) eloquently illustrated the continuity of experience over time.

The basic characteristic of habit is that every experience enacted and undergone modifies the one who acts and undergoes, while this modification affects, whether we wish it or not, the quality of subsequent experiences. For it is a somewhat different person who enters into them. ... From this point of view, the principle of continuity of experience means that every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after. (p. 35)

Previous experience affects the quality of subsequent experience by formulating habits with which a person enters into a next experience. In a similar vein, leadership experiences in high

school shape students' predisposition towards collegiate leadership experiences. The findings from the study showed that students who experienced high school leadership roles or engaged in a relational leadership process such as service and fundraising intended to choose similar experiences to sharpen their skills. In short, prior leadership experiences nurtured habits of leadership among these students.

The findings of this study also suggest that students came to college with conceptualizations of leadership that further influenced their interpretation of and approach to collegiate leadership experiences. Students' understanding of leadership was often hierarchical, and focused on positional leadership roles. Consistent with observations from prior studies on college student leadership (Renn & Ozaki, 2010; Shertzer & Schuh, 2004; Komives et al., 2006), students in this study held hierarchical, leader-centric views about leadership when they first arrived at college: they thought that people only became leaders when they took leadership positions in organizations. This finding also resonates with Komives and her colleagues' (2005) postulation that most college students, when they first came to colleges, were at Stage 3 of Leadership Identity Development Model, which is characterized by holding a conceptualization of leadership as pertaining to positions of power and authority. Similarly, the data in this study suggest that traditional-aged college students in general hold a traditional, leader-centric perspective about leadership rather than a relational leadership concept.

### **College Environments Matter in Promoting Students' Leadership Engagement**

Colleges and universities have provided distinctive educational environments to fulfill their missions. The findings from this study highlight the components of college environments that promoted students' leadership engagement through the use of intentional leadership educational practices and peer culture. Students in this study brought up intentional leadership

educational practices (e.g., emphasis on leadership development, emphasis on relational concepts of leadership) as a push to their leadership engagement. This was most salient in the all-female college, which put leadership development in the forefront of their college mission. In other schools, intentional educational practices were found to encourage students to be involved in leadership experiences.

These findings speak to the results of previous studies in that prevalence of and emphasis on leadership development positively influenced students' learning of leadership (Smith, Wolf, & Morrison, 1994). Not only did intentional leadership practices provide opportunities to learn leadership skills or knowledge, but they also raised students' awareness about the importance of leadership development. In other words, the presence of intentional leadership education practices on campus provided a clue to students that the institution valued developing leadership skills and knowledge among their students; further, this perception pushed those students who might not have predispositions towards leadership development.

Students also noted that intentional educational practices contributed to changing their leadership concepts from a hierarchical, leader-centric view to a relational, process-oriented definition of leadership. Learning the new concept was particularly encouraging to those students who held a leader-centric concept of leadership and were less confident in engaging with positional authority or leadership roles. Ultimately, after learning this new concept, students were engaged with a relational leadership process and started to realize that what they were doing in a group could be considered leadership regardless of whether they held formal positions. To my best knowledge, there is no study that examines the relationships between students' leadership concepts and their attitudes towards leadership experiences. The findings from this study show that a changing concept of leadership could influence students' dispositions

towards leadership engagement; further, the results suggest the importance of checking on students' concepts of leadership in encouraging students to be engaged with leadership processes.

Another feature of campus environments that stimulated leadership engagement was the influence of other students with whom they shared similar experiences, thoughts, plans, etc. Due to similarities and accessibility, students in this study found it easier to relate to peer role models than adult role models. Previous studies have emphasized the importance of role models in the leadership development process. Despite the importance, adult role models were often hard to find or, if found, not readily accessible. My data suggests that the peer influences were substantial in promoting students' leadership engagement; in other words, peers often served as a role model and in some cases were more influential than adult role models due to their accessibility and proximity. Given this finding, I propose that leadership education incorporate various types of peer role modeling.

### **Leadership Engagement and Developmental Complexity**

The central research question in this study has been to explore key features of students' leadership experiences; this involves unpacking various types of approaches that students take to their leadership engagement. Analyses of students' leadership experiences revealed two distinctive modes of engagement, personal and connection. These two modes diverged in ways students shaped their motivation towards a leadership process. Personal mode students sought leadership opportunities for self-improvement and achievement while connection mode students participated in leadership experiences for meaningful connection to others. The distinction between personal and connection modes of engagement is somewhat consistent with the distinction between task-oriented vs. relationship-oriented styles of leadership suggested in many classical leadership studies (e.g., Ohio leadership studies [Stogdill & Coons, 1957], Michigan



leadership studies [Katz, Maccoby, & Morse, 1950]). Leaders with a task-oriented leadership style set definite standards of performance and ask group members to follow the rules for fulfilling the goal. By contrast, leaders working with a relationship-oriented style look out for the personal welfare of group members and make themselves accessible to group members. The two modes that I identified in this study are not an exact match to task versus relationship-oriented styles of leadership. However, the connection mode is more closely aligned to a relationship-oriented style of leadership than task-oriented, while the personal mode is more closely aligned to the task-oriented style than the relationship-oriented style.

Beyond these well-known stylistic differences in leadership approaches, my data add another layer. As I illustrated in Chapter 5, I also found two variations within each mode of engagement. Within the personal mode, I identified task-based and value-based variations. Task-based personal mode students considered self-improvement as being acquired by conducting challenging tasks; in comparison, value-based personal mode students saw self-improvement through expressing or acting on their internal beliefs or values. In a similar vein, within the connection mode, I identified two motivational sources, affinity and empathy. Affinity-based connection mode students constructed meaningful, supportive relationships with similar others and felt responsible to those with whom they had feelings of unity. By contrast, empathy-based connection mode students grounded their sense of connection in understanding of others' situations and vulnerability.

With assumptions that these variations within each mode might reflect different levels of complexity, I examined the link between these variations and students' levels of developmental maturity. The findings described in Chapter 6, in fact, demonstrated that these variations reflected different levels of developmental complexity. The proportion of experiences with the

value-based personal engagement was largest among students using crossroads and/or solely internal meaning making while the task-based approaches were predominant among those using the solely external meaning making structure. In other words, the more advanced the approach to meaning making students were used, the higher the proportion of value-based personal engagement. The data from this study show a developmental shift within the personal mode of engagement from a simple to a complex approach. The same trend was not observed within the connection mode due to the small number of experiences demonstrating empathy-based approaches.

The idea that conceptualizes leadership abilities as a developmental outcome is gaining interest among leadership scholars. Eigel and Kuhnert (2005) constructed a model illustrating leadership development level by incorporating Kegan's (1998) constructive developmental framework into leadership development. They argued that an advanced level of development is warranted to effectively work in a leadership role because people's approaches to and understanding of their leadership roles differ qualitatively based on their developmental capacity. Much earlier, Kuhnert and Lewis (1987) suggested that the differences between transactional and transformational leaders were due in part to leaders' different levels of development. Transactional leaders rely on a relationship of mutual exchange, obligation, and contingent rewards. These ways of enacting leadership appear to be prevalent among those individuals who are in the third order of Kegan's developmental framework and are under the strong hold of interpersonal relationships. Transformational leaders rely on a personal value system to motivate their followers and themselves. This way of enacting leadership is most congruent with the fourth order of consciousness in which people can define their own values and identities. In short, leadership scholarship is conceptualizing and testing leadership abilities as a

developmental outcome. One contribution of the present study to this growing body of leadership developmental frameworks is that the study empirically examined and then confirmed the link between leadership approaches and levels of meaning making.

In this study, another dynamic between students' developmental capacity and ways to approach leadership was observed: the nuances of students' ways of approaching leadership experiences differed within the same mode of engagement across levels of meaning making. For example, as I presented in Chapter 6, task-based personal mode students who were also using solely external meaning making focused on external definitions of leadership roles. In comparison, the same mode students using crossroads meaning making were capable of incorporating their own views to define their leadership roles. Internal needs of affinity-based connection mode students who are externally-driven in their meaning making were often overshadowed by the external expectations, while those using crossroads meaning making became capable of standing up for their own needs. These findings showed that developmental capacity is not only associated with the types of modes students use in leadership experiences, but also with how students within the same mode of engagement interpret their leadership roles or relationships. Figure 7.1 synthesizes the overall trend of increasing complexity within each type of engagement with leadership experiences across different levels of meaning making.

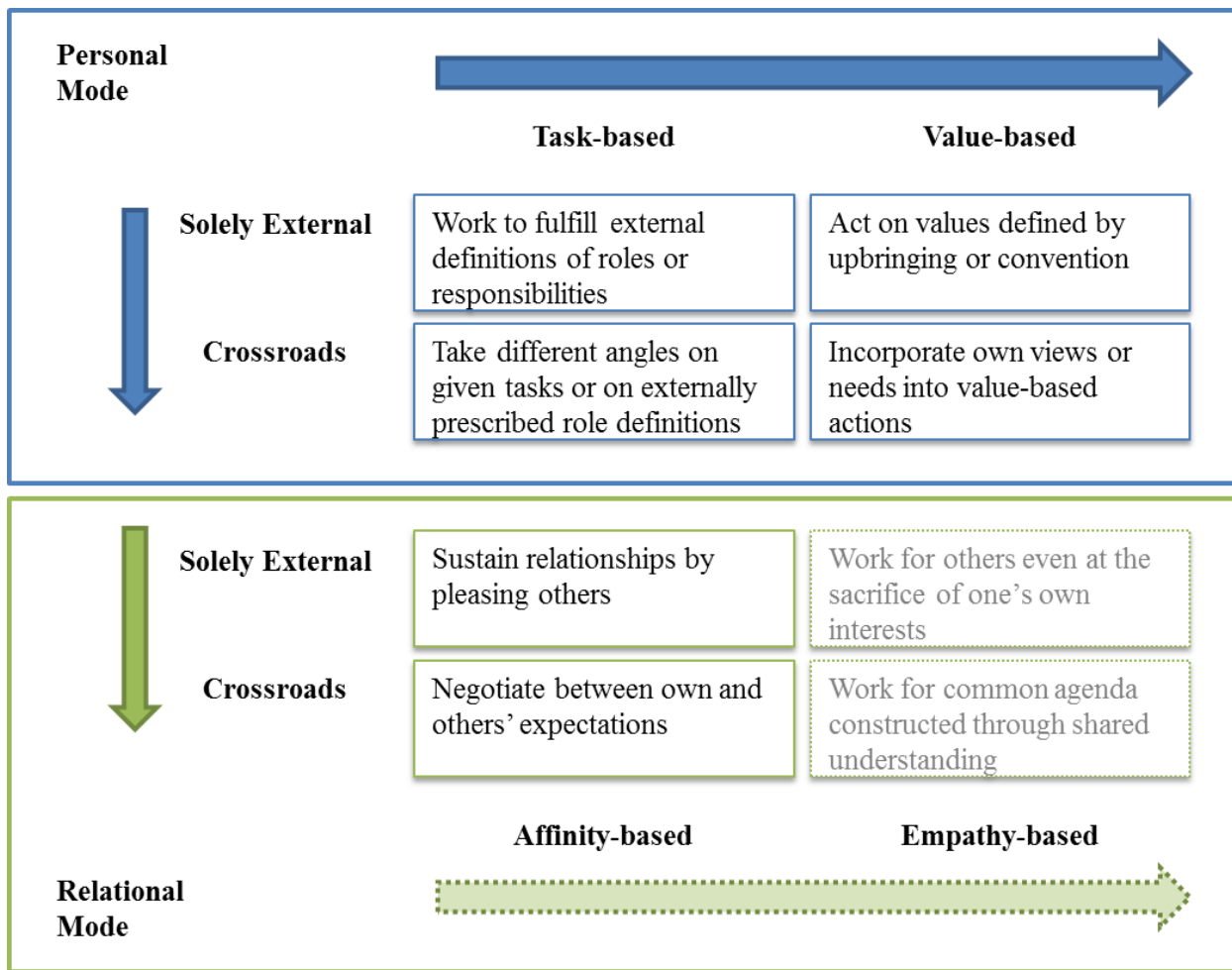


Figure 7.1. Increasing Complexity in Students' Leadership Approaches across Modes

In Figure 7.1, two horizontal arrows depict the movement from less to more complex ways that students approached their leadership experiences. I argue in this study that the value-based personal mode and the empathy-based connection mode reflected more complexities in thinking about leadership roles and relationships than task-based personal and affinity-based connection modes. The data supported my argument at least in terms of personal mode of engagement. More advanced meaning making is associated with larger proportion of value-based personal mode experiences than solely external meaning making. However, due to the small number of examples reflecting the connection mode in general, and empathy-based connection mode in particular, I was unable to see the similar pattern across the variations within

the connection mode. This warrants a future study with student samples whose meaning making is more advanced than those selected for this study. With limited evidence, I postulate that the movement would be from affinity-based towards empathy-based connection mode; since this is my postulation, I presented these ideas in Figure 7.1 with a dotted arrow and gray-colored letters in a box with dotted lines.

Two vertical arrows each represent increasing complexities in students' meaning making within each mode of engagement. As I illustrated in Chapter 6, students' interpretation of their roles and relationships was more complex among those using the advanced meaning making than those using solely external meaning making. Thus, the same mode of engagement connotes different understanding about leadership roles and tasks as students' meaning making varies. This finding once again highlights the importance of considering students' developmental capacity when studying college student leadership development.

### **Gender Matters in Leadership Engagement**

I conducted gender comparisons throughout this study and found a number of gender-related patterns in students' understanding of and approach to leadership experiences. First, I found gender differences in ways that students conceptualized leadership. Female students focused on fairness in dealing with team members and were attentive to others' needs, while male students were more oriented towards achieving goals and further exerted their energy into motivating others to fulfill the tasks at hand. A second gender-related pattern I observed in this study was the prevalence of connection mode of engagement among women, which was larger for women than for men. This pattern was apparent even in Greek organizations where relationships among members were a strong factor of the experience for men as well as women. All the women's experiences reflected a connection mode of engagement, while a majority of

men's fraternity experiences demonstrated the same mode of engagement. Lastly, in this study, I observed that task-based personal engagement was less prevalent among women than men. This gender-related pattern was most striking among those using more advanced meaning making (i.e., Leaving the Crossroads, Solely Internal). As shown in Table 6.8, over half of the leadership experiences from men who used leaving the crossroads meaning making demonstrated the task-based personal mode; in comparison, approximately one fifth of the experiences reported by women using the same advanced meaning making reflected the task-based personal mode of engagement.

All these gender-relevant patterns point to women's interpersonally-oriented approaches to leadership, which have been consistently reported in previous studies. For example, women are reported to prefer nonhierarchical and collective ways of leading, and to conceptualize leadership as empowering others and enabling groups to take action (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995). By contrast, men are likely to represent relatively task-oriented and autocratic ways of leading, and conform to the view that defines leadership as authority, position, and power (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990). In addition, women's relational orientation has been richly documented in feminist writings on morality and ethics (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984), and ways of knowing (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986). These works went beyond identifying inequalities between women and men, and shed new light on unique qualities and experiences of women. In doing so, they rejected the uncritical assimilation of women into male-centered norms, and called upon scholars to reevaluate "feminine" qualities as caring and nurturing that had been degraded in male-centered models. To some extent, this study corresponds to the feminist endeavor of reevaluating feminine qualities by revealing a relational way of engagement (i.e., the connection

mode) that focuses on building relationships and working on behalf of others' welfare. It also confirms gender difference in leadership approaches.

In discovering gender difference in leadership approaches, I found it very interesting that these patterns were gender-related, not gender-determined; in other words, the leadership patterns were distributed across gender groups in complex ways, with women also demonstrating a male-related pattern (i.e., personal mode) and vice versa. This complexity resonates with the view that conceptualizes gender as fluid, changing characteristics rather than as fixed traits. Binns (2008), a feminist leadership scholar, summarized the intertwining of gender and leadership as follows:

Gender matters to how leadership is understood and done, not because men always behave heroically and women relationally, but because gendering processes constitute subjectivities. Judith Butler's (1990) groundbreaking concept of the gender performative contests the orthodox notion of gender identity as possessed and fixed, instead drawing attention to the fluid and unending work of 'doing' gender, a process that has the potential to 'undo normative conceptions' (Butler, 2004, p.1). Gender and leadership norms shape how leaders see themselves and how they relate to others, but not in a fixed predetermined way. Although heroic leadership is highly seductive (Calas and Smircich, 1991; Sinclair, 2007, p. 6), it is resisted by leaders who choose an alternative script. Yet the dominant leadership message is powerful, seducing women as well as men to masculinize their practices in a heroically male world. The identity work of men and women leaders therefore needs to be seen as fluid and ambivalent, involving movement between masculinized and feminized modes of being and doing (Linstead and Thomas, 2002).

As Binns puts above, gender is not a fixed variable that imposes all-powerful effects on women and men; rather, it is one factor that may influence people's behaviors while interacting with other factors (e.g., social status, contextual cues) in complex ways. The findings from this study reverberate with the complexities of doing gender and doing leadership with interplays of contextual influences. Many female students in the study used personal mode when approaching a relational leadership process; that is, coming to the leadership process with a set of individual goals or agenda, and work towards the mastery of the tasks. This way of doing leadership is more in line with masculinized concepts of managing relationships that focus on mastery, dominance, or independence than feminized concepts of relating which highlight caring, serving, and sharing. It is possible that college students are holding onto leader-centric views of leadership and thus their norms of doing leadership are masculinized in most cases. These masculinized norms of doing leadership would be "highly seductive" to students. For this reason, except for the contexts where relationships are emphasized (e.g., Greek organizations), students represented the personal mode rather than connection mode.

### **Synthesis: Frameworks for College Student Leadership Engagement**

Reflecting on the findings from this study as a whole, I attempted to represent the relationships among the themes I discovered in a way that would illustrate the process of how students are engaged with collegiate leadership experiences. To do so, I constructed a framework of the leadership engagement process I discovered here; this is presented in Figure 7.2. When constructing the Figure, I envisioned an image of lights passing through a series of glasses or lenses and then finally reflected on a screen. All the arrows in Figure 7.2 depict lights, which represent the intensity of students' motivation towards leadership engagement as well as the types of students' engagement with their leadership experiences. Boxes and circles represent



glasses or lenses through which lights pass. At the right side of the figure, there presents a screen on which the lights passing through a series of lenses appear as images.

When entering college, students had **Predisposition to Leadership** that had been formed with prior leadership experiences and perceptions about college education. Students' predisposition towards leadership provided initial motivation for students to participate in a relational leadership process; that is, students were predisposed towards leadership activities as they valued these activities as part of successful college life. Thus, the two arrows following the predisposition box reflect this motivation. Students' motivation towards leadership engagement was strengthened if they were presented with **Environmental Nudges** that prompted them to join such an activity. Instead of two arrows coming to the box of **Environmental Nudges**, three arrows after this box represent students' increased motivations towards leadership experiences that developed as a function of those experiences. These three arrows of lights further filter through two lenses, **Gendered Positionality** and **Capacity for Self-Authorship**. These lenses, unlike two preceding boxes, have varying shapes by individual differences. Some may have a dense, thick lens that may pass through certain shades of colors, while others have a porous, flat lens that cannot filter the lights, but pass these lights as they come in. Two major lenses described in Figure 7.2, gender and developmental capacity, do not filter students' motivations separately; rather, they work in combination and filter lights like a prism that turns invisible light into colors of the rainbow. The arc following the two overlapped circles represents this combination; that is, the prism is unique to individuals based on their positions in terms of gender and developmental capacity filters. Finally, these colors of rainbow form as a colorful image on the screen, titled as **Modes of Engagement with Leadership Experience**, located at the right side of Figure 7.2. Not until the image projected is on the screen are the lights visible.

In other words, the phenomenon of college student leadership engagement can be observed only when students are working actively in a relational leadership process. The arrows, which represent the intensity and the types of students' motivation towards leadership engagement, increase in their numbers from left to right, and also change their colors from mono to multi colors. These changes in numbers and colors of arrows denote that students' motivation and commitment towards leadership engagement increased with environmental nudges and further became actualized into multiple modes of engagement.

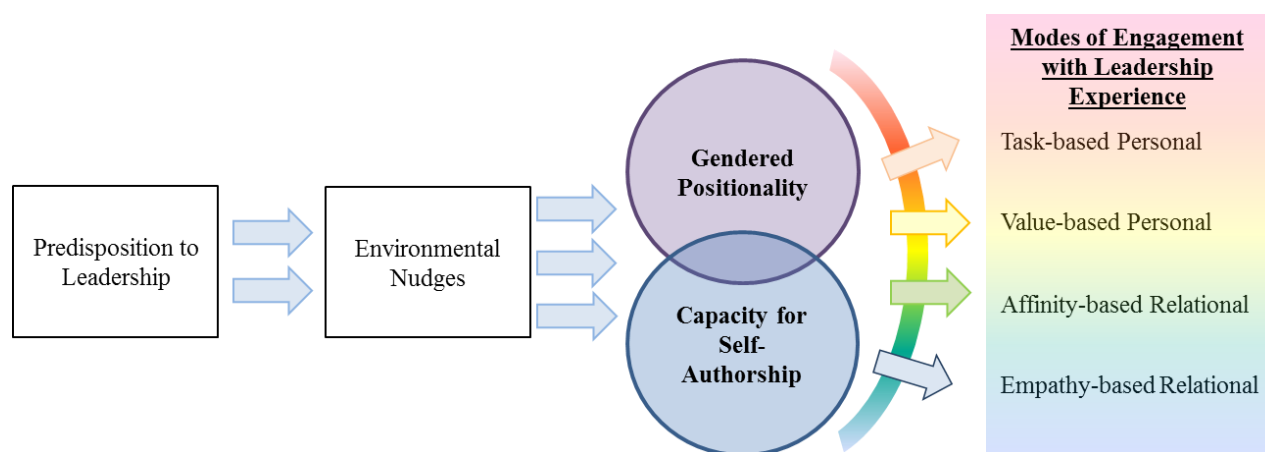


Figure 7.2. College Student Leadership Engagement Process

Students' leadership engagements are varied as they had different standing based on their gender and levels of maturity, or a combination of these two. Colors of the rainbow projected on the screen of Modes of Engagement with Leadership Experience represent the different ways of students' engagement; more specifically, the types of engagement could take the form of task-based personal, value-based personal, affinity-based connection, or empathy-based connection modes of engagement.

I would like to illustrate the college student leadership engagement process with an example from the data. The narratives that I introduce in this section come from Darcy's three-

year longitudinal interviews. After completing high school in a rural Midwest town, she migrated to the West and attended a small, private liberal arts college. She was academically focused in high school and took all the Advanced Placement courses offered. She was also active in a number of school organizations such as the National Honor Society, which she did mostly for resume building and thus was not involved in any leadership roles. In her first year interview, Darcy stated her expectations about a college education and demonstrated her understanding of college as a place for “developing as an intellectual.”

I think part of like developing as an intellectual is that you should never accept the status quo, you should always be like why and what’s that, and even if you think you believe something totally passionately, like this is right and that is wrong. I just don’t think there’s a lot of certainty in anything. So I think that a big part of going to college is supposed to be finding out about yourself, and finding out about ways other people do things that you wouldn’t, but then you find out that they have like a really good reason for it.

One reason she chose to leave her home town was that she wanted to have diverse experiences at college. As the phrase, “developing as an intellectual” epitomizes to Darcy, college education implies learning how to critically assessing the status quo, checking one’s own beliefs, and moving toward a better understanding of self. She also emphasized the importance of open-mindedness to different, diverse cultures in order to check on her own assumptions and learn from other cultural practices, which is another important component of a college education for her. With this expectation, she demonstrated her **Predisposition** towards being engaged in a conversation with diverse others in an effort to maximize her desired learning opportunities at college as follows:

... especially I think in college is where it's [conversations with friends from different backgrounds] going to happen the most, and you have conversations that matter. I hope that ten years from now, it matters who I was friends with and it matters what we said to each other, you know what I mean? Even if you can't like necessarily identify why, I think it's important that you happen to spend one night sitting up until 3:00 in the morning talking about politics or religion, something like that. And even though maybe you won't remember it [in] twenty years, perhaps it influences some decision that you make. I think that's a big part of it.

Her statement demonstrates her desire to have interactions with different others and learn from those experiences. For this reason, making friends with others who possibly exchange thought-provoking conversations was important to Darcy. In short, she had a **Predisposition** formed with her college expectations towards a certain type of college activity. In the same interview, she illustrated how she came to find a group of friends through participating in a series of sorority recruiting events.

I've been out with the girls in the society that I think I want to join. That has been amazing. And I was just, "this is what I want from college, this is what I want, people that are like this, I want to have friends like this." ... I really want to pledge this society now and I would have never predicted that I wanted to join a sorority type situation. ... because I think I perceived them as party things and like it was something you did to get drunk. I think that people in sororities and fraternities and stuff like that wasn't a very positive image. It was like they might be nice people, but they're kind of flighty and they don't care about school and they don't... And I got here and that's not all the situation. I feel really comfortable hanging out with them and I feel like it's good, it's good because

on the one hand, they are really fun to hang out with and to have fun with and to do social things with, but they also like, there's seriousness to them, too.

As she states, joining society (a local version of sorority) was not her interest when she first arrived at college. Darcy had a predisposition toward making friends who could have intellectual conversations with her, and she never considered sororities as a place where she could find these types of friends. To her great surprise, after attending a number of sorority events, she found her group of friends from the sorority members, who could do the fun things together and also be serious enough to do service and volunteer activities. Joining the society and interacting with her sisters further changed her views about a college education. In her second year interview, she shared,

And I'm like; I'm a huge nerd, actually. So, I really value learning for learning sake. But, I really think that college is supposed to be about more than just what you do in the classroom. And especially the college life at [name of the college], where it's really small and you're supposed to have a sense of community, and it's largely residential, and I think that for me in particular, because I was like a really, really serious student in high school, that I wanted my college experience to be a lot more like, about social things.

As she shared, her institution is a small liberal arts college that is largely residential and has strong presence of local chapters of sororities and fraternities. Nurturing a sense of community is emphasized on campus and living-learning communities are one way this college inculcates this sense. Being part of the society and being socialized into the school's educational culture appears to expand her view about college education. Darcy now considers the social aspects as important as the academic aspects. In short, the **Environmental Nudges** of this school promoted her to change her views on college education and have different views about the society. In her

second year interview, she also shared why it was important to her to be part of the society.

My mom passed away while I was in high school. For me, and we were really, really close. So having strong female relationships in my life is really, really important to me.

And my sisters are really amazing strong women. I don't want to say it replaced that in my life. But it definitely-there was a gap-and I think it does, to some extent, fill it for me, in a way.

Her statement demonstrated her **connection mode of engagement**; that is, she sought this opportunity to build relationships with strong women. Here, she also hints at her **Gendered Positionality**; she wanted to have a relationship with women. The loss of her mom was the only reason she gave to state why she considered relationships with strong female as important. What I postulate from her comment is that she wanted to build a support network in order to address her loss by establishing close relationships with other women. Darcy's relational needs are consistent with previous literature arguing that women are more attentive to relational concerns than men (Boatwright & Egidio, 2003; Lips, 2000), and learn better in a collaborative, communal setting than in an independent, competitive situation Baxter Magolda, 1992, 2001; Belenky, et al., 1997; Creamer & Laughlin, 2005; Gilligan, 1982; Straub & Rodgers, 1986).

In her third year, she used a solely internal structure of meaning making and was approaching her role in her society with connection mode of engagement. Here, she shared how her attitudes towards relationships changed over time.

I was very, very, very eager to please people. And it's funny, 'cause in high school I was very much more concerned with looking out for myself, you know. So I came here very like, "I'm doing what's best for me," and then within a semester was in a position where I was like, "No, I'll do whatever you want. It's okay," like I don't want to step on

anyone's toes or offend anyone, and then have from that point, coming back to more of a middle position .... And I think I'm—I'm, maybe not quite there yet, but I think I'm getting to a much better balance of like taking care of myself and others.

Her statement demonstrates her changed attitudes towards relationships over the course of years. In her second year, she used entering the crossroads meaning making and felt slightly overwhelmed by unexpectedly taking leadership roles in her society. She felt a strong sense of responsibility to the society, yet was unable to say no to a surge of society-related tasks. When she reflected on her previous experiences during her third year, she acknowledged that she was acquiesced to others' demands without taking care of her own needs. By then she was aware that balancing between others' and one's own expectations is possible and was learning how to do so. This changed attitude reflected her internal foundation to coordinate her relationships, making it possible to achieve this balance. In short, her statement demonstrates the influence of lens of **Capacity for Self-Authorship**. Ultimately, Darcy's engagement represents the affinity-based connection mode and also reflects developmental complexities in sustaining and managing relationships.

### **Implications for Practice**

Based on what I have learned about College Student Leadership Engagement, I offer suggestions for college leadership educators.

#### **1. Promote Relational Concepts of Leadership**

More than a decade has passed since the Astins and their colleagues (1996) and HERI (2000) constructed the Social Change Model of Leadership (SCM), grounded in a relational understanding of leadership. This model has been used to study college student leadership development and also to design an educational intervention for undergraduates. Despite these

scholarly efforts, the data in this study suggest that many college students still hold onto a hierarchical, leader-centric understanding about leadership and approached their leadership experiences with a focus on positional leadership roles. Given this leader-centric perspective, students who did not have much prior leadership experience were reluctant to see or identify themselves as leaders and were less active in seeking leadership opportunities. The findings in this study revealed that learning a relational concept of leadership was inspiring to the students who had less prior leadership experience. In Chapter 4, Chloe provided an example of how new leadership concepts encouraged her to try out a leadership role. Her institution, the all-female small liberal arts college, emphasized leadership development among women and promoted a relational concept of leadership. After learning this new concept of leadership in a workshop, Chloe was motivated to be involved in leadership roles and also to incorporate the new leadership concepts into her daily practices in leadership processes. This and other examples illustrate the value of teaching relational concepts of leadership in order to encourage students, especially those who felt less confident in taking positional leadership roles, to be engaged with leadership activities.

## **2. Involve Students as Role Models or Campus Change Agents**

The findings from the study demonstrate the importance of peer influences in promoting students' leadership engagement. Leadership educators have frequently involved students in intentional educational practices as mentors or leaders to other students. Peer influences on student leadership engagement were observed not only in these intentional practices, but also in everyday interactions. As an informal role model, peers often inspired other students to be engaged with leadership experiences and, as close friends, directly encouraged others to participate in activities which they otherwise were not inclined to try. Besides the already



existing peer mentoring programs, leadership educators could invite students to serve as ambassadors or recruiters for leadership activities, further expanding the types of leadership experiences available on campus. In order to increase positive peer influences on students' leadership engagement, leadership educators could teach methods of peer mentoring to students who participated in leadership activities and encourage students to incorporate mentoring into their leadership activities.

### **3. Provide Opportunities to Collaborate and Form Coalitions**

Defined in relational terms, leadership involves a group of people working toward shared purposes. A few students in this study had difficulties finding a group in which to invest their time and energy, and were sometimes in and out of several campus organizations. Leadership educators can also use workshops, seminars or retreats that are organized to teach leadership skills as venues where students can build their networks and test out relational leadership opportunities. In fact, the data showed that several students (e.g., Natalie in Chapter 4) found people who shared similar interests through formal leadership education programs and then started new campus organizations with them. Given this, formal leadership education programs can be structured to provide opportunities where students not only learn leadership skills, but also build relational leadership processes that could continue after the program.

### **4. Take Students' Meaning Making into Consideration**

This study highlights the importance of considering students' meaning making when providing advice and assistance in students' leadership development. Students who approached leadership experiences with the same mode of engagement were likely to understand the meaning of their involvement differently based on their level of meaning making. As I illustrated in Chapter 6, students using more advanced meaning making could formulate their

own understanding of their roles and put their needs in balance with others' demands while those using solely external tended to focus on externally defined roles or tasks. Not only were nuances of students' understanding about their leadership experiences different depending on students' meaning making, but certain types of engagement were more prevalent among those using given levels of meaning making. Based on the findings from this study, I constructed Table 7.1 to provide suggestions for students using each level of meaning making.

Students using the solely external meaning making were reliant on external sources to define their leadership roles and identify what would be considered as success in these roles. Partly due to their dependence on external formula, externally-driven students may be engaged with more leadership activities than those using more advanced meaning making if these activities appeared to be consistent with their definition of a successful college life. In fact, as reported in Chapter 6, externally-driven students started with more leadership experiences in Year 2 than those using more advanced meaning making, and the number of their engagements decreased in Year 3. It is likely that students who stretched themselves too thinly were likely to disengage or sacrifice their academic performance to meet the demands of the multiple roles; further, I would expect this pattern to be more prevalent among externally-driven students than those using more advanced meaning making. Therefore, encouraging students to identify one or two goals that they would like to achieve through their involvement and then narrow down their choices would be the first step to help externally-driven students to effectively engage with relational leadership processes.

Students using more complex meaning making were likely to be engaged with leadership activities to act on their values (i.e., value-based personal mode) since these students were better able to state their values or beliefs than were externally-driven students. They were also less

likely to be engaged with too many organizations at a time given their evolving awareness of their own identity and values. What might be challenging to these students would be dealing with the emerging tensions between external and internal understanding of the roles or between their own and others' demands. Encouraging students to act on their values or beliefs or to identify other barriers that kept them from doing so would be a first step to help them to resolve these tensions. Another helpful intervention for students using the entering and/or leaving the crossroads would be teaching them how to negotiate between their own and others' expectations.

Table 7.1.  
*Characteristics of Students' Leadership Engagement and Suggestions for Supports by Meaning Making Structure*

	<b>Solely External</b>	<b>Entering and Leaving the Crossroads</b>
<b>Characteristics</b>	Feel tension due to participating multiple organizations; focus on externally defined roles or tasks; try to achieve (for personal mode students) or to satisfy others' demands (for connection mode students) at all costs	Feel tension due to interpersonal conflicts; begin to formulate own understanding about leadership roles or tasks; try to balance between own and others' expectations
<b>Support</b>	Encourage students to identify the goals that they want to achieve through leadership engagement; encourage students to be aware of their boundaries and to pace themselves	Encourage students to identify their values and act on them; support students who take their own needs into account

## **5. Be Aware of Slow-Starters**

The data in this study revealed that students had predispositions formed from prior experiences and college expectations, and that this often drew them towards certain collegiate activities. I also observed that students who were highly active and had prior leadership experiences in high school were more likely to seek a leadership opportunity in college and identify themselves as leaders than were others who did not have such prior experiences. Given this self-identification, students who had leadership experiences in high school were likely to participate in leadership processes for self-improvement; that is, they chose leadership activities where they could sharpen their skills. In fact, at earlier years of college, students reported more personal mode leadership experiences than those reflecting the connection mode. Taken together, the data in this study suggest that students who did not have prior leadership experiences and were inclined to use a connection mode of engagement take more time and may need more encouragement to decide their engagement with leadership processes. While it is important to help those students who had strong predispositions and sustain their motivation towards leadership engagement, leadership educators should pay attention to those who start the process later in their collegiate experience.

### **Future Research**

There are a number of areas of further study into leadership development that I would recommend based on what I have learned in my research. As I discussed earlier in Chapters 5 and 6, I organized two variations within each mode of engagement by the source of students' motivation towards leadership engagement, and further compared the distribution of these variations by students' levels of meaning making. Although I found some patterns between students' meaning making and their modes of leadership engagement, a limited number of

students who used empathy-based connection mode made it challenging to explore the patterns among those using connection modes. Future studies could contribute to our understanding about college students' relational leadership engagement by specifically attending to the variations and patterns associated with the connection mode of leadership engagement. For example, future studies might examine the nuances within the connection mode by meaning making level or explore the contexts that encouraged this style of leadership engagement.

Another avenue to continue this line of research is to explore patterns and key features of leadership engagement among those using internal meaning making. In this study, I did not find sufficient students who were using the solely internal level of meaning making, and thus was unable to explore the nuances of these students' approaches to their leadership experiences. Based on what I have already found from this study, I can postulate that value-based personal and/or empathy-based connection modes would be higher among those using internal meaning making, but do so tentatively. The Year 4 data of Wabash National Study is one source from which future studies can draw data of those students whose meaning making is internally grounded. In addition to adding more internally-driven students to the sample, the other benefit of analyzing the WNS Year 4 data is to continue to examine longitudinal trends. In this study, I focused on identifying key features of students' experiences, and thus conducted cross-case analyses without examining longitudinal processes by students. Examining longitudinal patterns would provide insights about how students' modes of leadership change over time and how these changes are related, if at all, to their development of meaning making capacity or gendered positionality.

In this study I focused on gender differences in college student leadership engagement development, but did not examine the effects of other positionalities, such as race/ethnicity,

sexual orientation, or socio-economic status. In prior studies (Dugan, et al., 2008; Kezar & Moriarty, 2000), these other characteristics were shown to interact with gender, and could affect students' leadership development in a distinctive way. A future study is warranted to explore the intersections of gender, race, and other demographic characteristics, and how these shape students' understanding of their leadership engagement.

## Appendix A. First Year Interview Protocol

### In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study

<b>Introduction to the Interview:</b> Greet student as he/she arrives, ask his/her name, thank him/her for coming, put at ease and begin completion of consent form	
<p>Provide student a written description of the study and provide a copy of a consent form that you sign; collect the one that student signed</p> <p>“I will reintroduce the study to you but before we begin there is a consent form that I would like to review with you and, if you are willing to participate, I need you to sign.”</p>	<p>Review the Consent form and ensure he/she consents to both the participation and audio recording.</p> <p>Highlight:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ your role as the interviewer</li> <li>✓ voluntary participation, they can refuse to answer or end interview at any time</li> <li>✓ confidentiality</li> <li>✓ 90 minute time commitment (confirm interview end time)</li> <li>✓ opportunity for questions at the end</li> <li>✓ how interview will be used and by whom</li> <li>✓ confirm the process of payment</li> </ul>
Reintroduce the study verbally and why they have been chosen as a participant	<p>e.g., “Our purpose in meeting today is to learn about you &amp; your experiences in college so that we can better understand how students learn. Because every student is different and brings a unique perspective and set of experiences we believe it is important to hear about your experiences from your point of view.”</p> <p>e.g., “You have randomly selected from a list of students...”</p>
Provide an overview of the organization of the questions	e.g., “Specifically we will ask you to talk about your experiences, I will provide the structure but I will let you steer the conversation. I will begin by asking a little bit about you and your background, your expectations coming to college and of [INSTITUTION] in particular. I’d like to hear about your specific experiences since coming to college. Overall I will want to hear how you make sense of all you are experiencing and learning...”

### Introduction Continued & Expectations Segment

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> To access meaning making at college entrance and build rapport	
<b>Means to Access Foundation:</b> Expectations and degree to which they matched reality	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
It would help me to <i>know a little about you</i> . Tell me about your background and what brought you to [institution].	<p>Possible Probes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell me about your high school experience – what was it like?</li> <li>• Tell me about your family.</li> <li>• Tell me about your friends.</li> <li>• What did you tell people here to introduce yourself when you arrived?</li> <li>• How did you decide to come to [institution]? [what were the other options, advantages/disadvantages of options, how did this one win out]</li> <li>• Tell me about any goals you have for this year [try to draw out both academic and personal goals].</li> </ul>
Let's talk about <i>your expectations</i> coming to college in general and to [institution] in particular. What did you expect it to be like to be a college student here?	<p>Possible Probes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What did you expect [or hope] the learning environment to be like?</li> <li>• What did you expect would go well for you and what would be challenging in your courses?</li> <li>• What kind of relationships did you expect [or hope] to build with other students? With faculty?</li> <li>• How did you expect [or hope] you would grow or change coming to college?</li> <li>• In what ways did you expect [or hope] to get involved in campus activities?</li> </ul>
I'm interested in your perspective on how the <i>reality of college compares</i>	<p>Possible Probes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using what the interviewee offered re expectations, return to each one asking to</li> </ul>



<p><i>with your expectations!</i> Let's talk about areas in which your experience matches your expectations and areas in which it does not. [Note: it may be artificial to separate expectations and reality – you won't need this if the interviewee already addressed it]</p>	<p>what degree experience matches [i.e., you said you expected classes to be pretty hard – what is your sense of that so far?] Draw out why the person sees it this way and what it means to her/him.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is it like to be a student at this institution? What is it like to be a [race, ethnicity, gender] student at this institution [if person raised these dynamics]?</li> <li>• What has surprised you most? Draw out the description, why it was surprising, how the person is making sense of it.</li> </ul>
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**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Making Sense of Educational Experiences Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> 3 dimensions by 7 outcomes chart	
<b>Means to Access:</b> meaningful experiences and how students made meaning of them	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
Our conversation so far has given me some context to understand you, your prior experiences and your initial expectations of college. Let's talk more about important experiences. How would you describe your college life so far? NOTE: while we want to talk about college, we have to recognize that participants have been in college only a few weeks. So this segment may need to include high school experiences as well.	Probes: How do you think you will balance these various parts of college life? What are some of the ups and downs you've encountered so far?
Let's focus in specifically on the experiences you've had that you think have affected you most. What has been your <i>most significant experience</i> so far?	<b>Framework</b> for drawing out the dimensions and outcomes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the experience</li> <li>• Why was it important?</li> <li>• How did you make sense of it?</li> <li>• How did it affect you?</li> </ul>
Tell me about your <i>best experience</i> ; <i>worst experience</i>	<b>Framework</b>
Tell me about some of the <i>challenges</i> you've encountered	<b>Framework;</b> also inquire about challenges in other dimensions if response is uni-dimensional
Who/what are your <i>support</i> systems? Tell me about them.	Probes: when you need support, where do you find it? Who do you go to for help? Who do you trust to help when something important is on your mind?
Usually college is a place where you <i>encounter people who differ</i>	What have these interactions been like? How have you made

from you because of different backgrounds, beliefs, preferences, values, personalities, etc. Have you had interactions with people who you perceive as different than you? If so, tell me about them.	sense of them? What ideas have you gathered from these interactions?
Have you had to face any <i>difficult decisions</i> ?	<b>Framework:</b> also inquire about decisions in other dimensions if response is uni-dimensional
Often college students report feeling <i>pressure</i> from multiple directions – pressure to study and succeed academically, pressure to belong socially, pressure re: family or work obligations, pressure to participate in campus activities, pressure to figure out career directions. Have you encountered any of these pressures?	If so, describe, how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you.
Has there been any time that what you wanted and what others wanted from you <i>conflicted</i> ?	If so, what was that like? How did you handle it?
Have you been in a situation where you struggled with doing the right thing?	If so, describe, how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you?
How do you think coming to college, to [institution] has <i>affected</i> you?	What do you think prompted this? How do you feel about it? Draw out possible challenges to beliefs, sense of self, relationships.
Are there <i>any experiences you want to share</i> that I haven't given you the opportunity to talk about?	If so, explore.

**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Integration of Learning Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> access Integration of Learning outcome and synthesize the students' experience as shared in the interview	
<b>Means to Access:</b> how your collective experiences are influencing your thinking about what to believe, yourself, and relations with others	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach</b>	
<b>Integration of Learning</b>	
You've talked about some of your important experiences [such as x, y, z] and what they've meant to you. Let's talk for a few minutes about any connections you are making among these experiences. How do these collective experiences, and the way you've interpreted them, influence your everyday decisions and actions?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do these experiences or connections influence your thinking about college? Your goals here?</li> <li>• How do these experiences or connections influence your relations with others?</li> <li>• How do these experiences or connections influence how you see yourself?</li> </ul>
It would help us to understand a little more <i>specifically</i> how you think you will <i>use what you've gained</i> from your college experience thus far in everyday life. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell me about any connections you see between what you have learned in classes and your everyday decisions and actions.</li> <li>• Tell me about any connections you see between what you have learned outside of class and your everyday decisions and actions.</li> <li>• Tell me about any connections you see between what you have learned in class and out of class.</li> <li>• How are you evaluating new ideas you've encountered thus far?</li> <li>• Do any of the ideas you've encountered thus far conflict? If so, how are you thinking about that?</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	NOTE: if the student indicates that they haven't been in college long enough to answer these questions, return to their last year in high school [or whatever they were doing last year] and ask how they used what they gained there as they are beginning college.

<b>Summary and Conclusion</b>	
We have about [x] minutes left and I'd like to be sure I have the key points you think are important. Thinking about your overall experience, what is the most important thing you <i>gained</i> from this past year? How has this <i>past year influenced</i> how you think about things? How you see yourself? How you relate to others?	Draw out meaning.
How did the experiences you've shared influence your transition to college?	Draw out meaning.
As you have reflected on your experiences, has anything come up that you expect you'll want to <i>explore further</i> ?	Describe, why is this important, how do you anticipate you will explore this.
How has this past year experience helped you think about how you want to approach <i>this year</i> ?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How has it shaped your goals?</li> <li>• How has it shaped your view of yourself?</li> <li>• How has it shaped how you learn?</li> </ul>
Are there any <i>other observations</i> you would like to share?	Draw out description and meaning.

Appendix B. Second Year Interview Protocol

**In-Depth Interview: Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education  
Fall 2007**

<b>Introduction to the Interview:</b> Greet student as he/she arrives, ask his/her name, thank him/her for coming, put at ease and begin completion of consent form	
<p>Provide student a written description of the study and provide a copy of a consent form that you sign; collect the one that student signed.</p> <p>“I will reintroduce the study to you but before we begin there is a consent form that I would like to review with you and, if you are willing to participate, I need you to sign.”</p> <p>“I have reviewed the summary of last year’s interview, so the ideas you shared last year are fresh in my mind.”</p>	<p>Review the consent form and ensure he/she consents to both the participation and audio recording.</p> <p>Highlight:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ your role as the interviewer</li> <li>✓ voluntary participation, they can refuse to answer or end interview at any time</li> <li>✓ confidentiality</li> <li>✓ 90 minute time commitment (confirm interview end time)</li> <li>✓ opportunity for questions at the end</li> <li>✓ how interview will be used and by whom</li> <li>✓ confirm the process of payment</li> </ul>
<p>Reintroduce the study verbally and welcome them back to the project for a second year.</p>	<p>e.g., “We are delighted that you’ve returned for a second interview and I’m eager to hear about your year.”</p> <p>e.g., “Our purpose in meeting today is to learn about you, your experiences in college and how they affected you. This will help us better understand how students approach and benefit from their educational experiences. Because every student is different and brings a unique perspective and set of experiences, we believe it is important to hear about your experiences from your point of view.”</p>

Provide an overview of the organization of the questions	e.g., “As you’ll recall from last year, I’ll ask you to talk about your experiences. I’d like to hear about your specific experiences during the past year of college. I’ll ask you to be the judge of what is most important as we move through the conversation. Overall, I would like to hear how you make sense of all you are experiencing and learning. Just like last year, this is an informal interview. I’ll ask you to introduce what is important to you and we’ll use that to guide our conversation. We are interested in hearing about the past year, but if there are ideas from the previous year you want to revisit, that is okay too. We are also interested in all areas of life – not just college or the classroom.
Turn on recorder: State “This is [interviewer name], today’s date, interviewing at [institution].” Do NOT state the students’ name.	

### Introduction, Continued

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> To access meaning making during and as a result of the first year of college and build rapport	
<b>Means to Access Foundation:</b> Reflection on the 1st year, what they anticipate for the 2nd year	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
Provide a brief recap of the main points from last year's interview to convey interviewer is familiar with it and to set the tone.	e.g., "Last year, I remember we discussed X, Y, and Z." or "Reading the summary I see that you discussed X, Y, and Z."
Let's start with an update on how college has been for you since the last interview. What has stood out for you over the past year? What's new or different?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell me about your classes – what were they like?</li> <li>• Tell me about your friends.</li> <li>• Tell me about life outside of class – what is important to you? What experiences have you participated in?</li> <li>• Tell me about any goals you have for this year [try to draw out both academic and personal goals].</li> </ul>
I'm interested in how you experienced the transition from first year to second year. What did you gain in your first year that helped you as you began this year? What surprised you most about last year?	Possible Probes: How have your prior experiences influenced how you are approaching your second year?
Let's talk about <i>your expectations</i> coming into this year. What do you expect it to be like to be a second year student?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What did you expect [or hope] the learning environment to be like?</li> <li>• What did you expect would go well for you and what would be challenging in your courses?</li> <li>• What kind of relationships did you expect [or hope] to build with other students? With faculty?</li> <li>• How did you expect [or hope] you would grow or change this year?</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In what ways did you expect [or hope] to get involved in campus activities?</li> </ul>
<p>I'm interested in your perspective on how your experience of this year <i>compares with your expectations</i>! Let's talk about areas in which your experience matches your expectations and areas in which it does not. [Note: it may be artificial to separate expectations and reality – you won't need this if the interviewee already addressed it]</p>	<p>Possible Probes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using what the interviewee offered re expectations, return to each one asking to what degree experience matches [i.e., you said you expected classes to be pretty hard – what is your sense of that so far?] Draw out why the person sees it this way and what it means to her/him.</li> <li>• What has been your experience as a student at this institution? What has been your experience as a [race, ethnicity, gender] student at this institution [<i>only if person raised these dynamics</i>]? </li> <li>• What has surprised you most? Draw out the description, why it was surprising, how the person is making sense of it.</li> </ul>
<p>NOTE: It may be helpful when appropriate to use our basic Framework for drawing out meaning:</p>	<p><b>Framework</b> for drawing out meaning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the experience</li> <li>• Why was it important?</li> <li>• How did you make sense of it?</li> <li>• How did it affect/influence you?</li> </ul>

**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Making Sense of Educational Experiences Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> 3 dimensions by 7 outcomes chart	
<b>Means to Access:</b> meaningful experiences and how students made meaning of them	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
Our conversation so far has given me some context to understand you and how you experienced the first year of college. Let's talk more about important experiences. How would you describe your college life since the last interview?	Probes: How are you balancing the various parts of college life? What are some of the ups and downs you've encountered so far?
Let's focus in specifically on the experiences you've had that you think have affected you most. What has been your <i>most significant experience</i> since the last interview? By significant, I simply mean something that stands out in your mind, something that is important to you.	<b>Framework</b> for drawing out the dimensions and outcomes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the experience</li> <li>• Why was it important?</li> <li>• How did you make sense of it?</li> <li>• How did it affect/influence you?</li> </ul>
Tell me about your <i>best experience</i> ; <i>worst experience</i>	<b>Framework</b>
Tell me about some of the <i>challenges</i> you've encountered	<b>Framework;</b> also inquire about challenges in other dimensions if response is uni-dimensional
Who/what are your <i>support</i> systems? Tell me about them.	Probes: When you need support, where do you find it? Who do you go to for help? Who do you trust to help when something important is on your mind? What does the support look like? How does it play out? What did you do with it?
Usually college is a place where you <i>encounter people who differ from you</i> because of different backgrounds, beliefs, preferences, values, personalities, etc. Have you had interactions with people	What have these interactions been like? How have you made sense of them? What ideas have you gathered from these interactions?

who you perceive as different from you? If so, tell me about them.	
Have you had to face any <i>difficult decisions</i> ? If so, tell me about how you work through or process such decisions. Are there people you look to for guidance in these situations?	<b>Framework:</b> also inquire about decisions in other dimensions (i.e., cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal) if response is uni-dimensional
Often college students report feeling <i>pressure</i> from multiple directions – pressure to study and succeed academically, pressure to belong socially, pressure re: family or work obligations, pressure to participate in campus activities, pressure to figure out career directions. Have you encountered any of these pressures?	If so, describe; how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you.
Has there been any time that what you wanted and what others wanted from you <i>conflicted</i> ?	If so, what was that like? How did you handle it?
Have you been in a situation where you struggled with doing the right thing?	If so, describe, how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you? How did you decide what to believe? Was there anyone to guide you through this?
How do you think being a student at [institution] has <i>affected</i> you?	What do you think prompted this? How do you feel about it? Draw out possible challenges to beliefs, sense of self, relationships.

**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Integration of Learning Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> access Integration of Learning outcome and synthesize the student's experience as shared in the interview	
<b>Means to Access:</b> how your collective experiences are influencing your thinking about what to believe, yourself, and relations with others	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach</b>	
<b>Synthesis</b>	
You've talked about some of your important experiences [such as x, y, z] and what they've meant to you. How did the experiences you've shared influence the person you are today?	Draw out meaning.
As you have reflected on your experiences, has anything come up that you expect you'll want to <i>explore further</i> ?	Describe, why is this important, how do you anticipate you will explore this.
How has this past year helped you think about how you want to approach <i>this upcoming year</i> ?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How has it shaped your goals?</li> <li>• How has it shaped your view of yourself?</li> <li>• How has it shaped how you learn?</li> </ul>
<b>Integration of Learning/Summary</b>	
We have about [x] minutes left and I'd like to be sure I have the key points you think are important. Thinking about your overall experience, what is the most important idea you <i>gained</i> from this past year?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where did this come from?</li> <li>• What prompted this?</li> </ul>
How has this <i>past year influenced</i> your everyday decisions and actions?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do these experiences influence your thinking about college? Your goals here?</li> <li>• How do these experiences influence your relationships?</li> <li>• How do these experiences influence how you see yourself?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How do these experiences influence how you make decisions? How do they influence how you determine your beliefs and opinions?</li> </ul>
<p>How are you evaluating new ideas you've encountered thus far?</p> <p>Do any of the ideas you've encountered thus far conflict? If so, how are you thinking about that?</p>	
Tell me about any connections or themes you see among your experiences.	<p>Draw out description and meaning.</p> <p>Draw out the nature of these connections.</p>
Are there any <i>other observations</i> you would like to share?	Draw out description and meaning.
Are there any observations you'd like to share about participating in this study?	

Appendix C. Third Year Interview Protocol

**In-Depth Interview: Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education  
Fall 2008**

<b>Introduction to the Interview:</b> Greet student as he/she arrives, ask his/her name, thank him/her for coming, put at ease and begin completion of consent form	
<p>Provide student a written description of the study and provide a copy of a consent form that you sign; collect the one that student signed.</p> <p>“I will reintroduce the study to you but before we begin there is a consent form that I would like to review with you and, if you are willing to participate, I need you to sign.”</p> <p>“I have reviewed the summary of last year’s interview, so the ideas you shared last year are fresh in my mind.”</p>	<p>Review the consent form and ensure he/she consents to both the participation and audio recording.</p> <p>Highlight:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ your role as the interviewer</li> <li>✓ voluntary participation, they can refuse to answer or end interview at any time</li> <li>✓ confidentiality</li> <li>✓ 90 minute time commitment (confirm interview end time)</li> <li>✓ opportunity for questions at the end</li> <li>✓ how interview will be used and by whom</li> <li>✓ confirm the process of payment</li> </ul>
<p>Reintroduce the study verbally and welcome them back to the project for a third year.</p>	<p>e.g., “We are delighted that you’ve returned for a third interview and I’m eager to hear about your year.”</p> <p>e.g., “Our purpose in meeting today is to learn about you, your experiences in college and how they affected you. This will help us better understand how students approach and benefit from their educational experiences. Because every student is different and brings a unique perspective and set of experiences, we believe it is important to hear about your experiences from your point of view.”</p>

Provide an overview of the organization of the questions	e.g., “As you’ll recall from last year, I’ll ask you to talk about your experiences. I’d like to hear about your specific experiences during the past year of college. I’ll ask you to be the judge of what is most important as we move through the conversation. Overall, I would like to hear how you make sense of all you are experiencing and learning. Just like last year, this is an informal interview. I’ll ask you to introduce what is important to you and we’ll use that to guide our conversation. We are interested in hearing about the past year, but if there are ideas from the previous year you want to revisit, that is okay too. We are also interested in all areas of life – not just college or the classroom.
Turn on recorder: State “This is [interviewer name], today’s date, interviewing at [institution].” Do NOT state the students’ name.	

### Introduction, Continued

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> To access meaning making during and as a result of the second year of college and build rapport	
<b>Means to Access Foundation:</b> Reflection on the 2nd year, what they anticipate for the 3rd year	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
Provide a brief recap of the main points from last year's interview to convey interviewer is familiar with it and to set the tone.	e.g., "Last year, I remember we discussed X, Y, and Z." or "Reading the summary I see that you discussed X, Y, and Z."
Let's start with an update on how college has been for you since the last interview. What has stood out for you over the past year? What's new or different?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell me about your classes – what were they like?</li> <li>• Tell me about your friends.</li> <li>• Tell me about life outside of class – what is important to you? What experiences have you participated in?</li> <li>• Tell me about any goals you have for this year [try to draw out both academic and personal goals].</li> </ul>
I'm interested in how you experienced the transition from second year to third year. What did you gain in your second year that helped you as you began this year? What surprised you most about last year?	Possible Probes: How have your prior experiences influenced how you are approaching your third year?
Let's talk about <i>your expectations</i> coming into this year. What do you expect it to be like to be a third year student?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What did you expect [or hope] the learning environment to be like?</li> <li>• What did you expect would go well for you and what would be challenging in your courses?</li> <li>• What kind of relationships did you expect [or hope] to build with other students? With faculty?</li> <li>• How did you expect [or hope] you would grow or change this year?</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In what ways did you expect [or hope] to get involved in campus activities?</li> </ul>
<p>I'm interested in your perspective on how your experience of this year <i>compares with your expectations</i>! Let's talk about areas in which your experience matches your expectations and areas in which it does not. [Note: it may be artificial to separate expectations and reality – you won't need this if the interviewee already addressed it]</p>	<p>Possible Probes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using what the interviewee offered re expectations, return to each one asking to what degree experience matches [i.e., you said you expected classes to be pretty hard – what is your sense of that so far?] Draw out why the person sees it this way and what it means to her/him.</li> <li>• What has been your experience as a student at this institution? What has been your experience as a [race, ethnicity, gender] student at this institution [<i>only if person raised these dynamics</i>]?</li> <li>• What has surprised you most? Draw out the description, why it was surprising, how the person is making sense of it.</li> </ul>
<p>NOTE: It may be helpful when appropriate to use our basic Framework for drawing out meaning:</p>	<p><b>Framework</b> for drawing out meaning:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the experience</li> <li>• Why was it important?</li> <li>• How did you make sense of it?</li> <li>• How did it affect/influence you?</li> </ul>

**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Making Sense of Educational Experiences Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> 3 dimensions by 7 outcomes chart	
<b>Means to Access:</b> meaningful experiences and how students made meaning of them	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach:</b>	
Our conversation so far has given me some context to understand you and how you experienced the first two years of college. Let's talk more about important experiences. How would you describe your college life since the last interview?	Probes: How are you balancing the various parts of college life? What are some of the ups and downs you've encountered so far?
Let's focus in specifically on the experiences you've had that you think have affected you most. What has been your <i>most significant experience</i> since the last interview? By significant, I simply mean something that stands out in your mind, something that is important to you.	<b>Framework</b> for drawing out the dimensions and outcomes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the experience</li> <li>• Why was it important?</li> <li>• How did you make sense of it?</li> <li>• How did it affect/influence you?</li> </ul>
Tell me about your <i>best experience</i> ; <i>worst experience</i>	<b>Framework</b>
Tell me about some of the <i>challenges</i> you've encountered	<b>Framework;</b> also inquire about challenges in other dimensions if response is uni-dimensional
Who/what are your <i>support</i> systems? Tell me about them.	Probes: When you need support, where do you find it? Who do you go to for help? Who do you trust to help when something important is on your mind? What does the support look like? How does it play out? What did you do with it?
Usually college is a place where you <i>encounter people who differ from you</i> because of different backgrounds, beliefs, preferences, values, personalities, etc. Have you had interactions with people	What have these interactions been like? How have you made sense of them? What ideas have you gathered from these interactions?

who you perceive as different from you? If so, tell me about them.	
Have you had to face any <i>difficult decisions</i> ? If so, tell me about how you work through or process such decisions. Are there people you look to for guidance in these situations?	<b>Framework:</b> also inquire about decisions in other dimensions (i.e., cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal) if response is uni-dimensional
Often college students report feeling <i>pressure</i> from multiple directions – pressure to study and succeed academically, pressure to belong socially, pressure re: family or work obligations, pressure to participate in campus activities, pressure to figure out career directions. Have you encountered any of these pressures?	If so, describe; how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you.
Has there been any time that what you wanted and what others wanted from you <i>conflicted</i> ?	If so, what was that like? How did you handle it?
Have you been in a situation where you struggled with doing the right thing?	If so, describe, how did you handle it, why, how did it affect you? How did you decide what to believe? Was there anyone to guide you through this?
How do you think being a student at [institution] has <i>affected</i> you?	What do you think prompted this? How do you feel about it? Draw out possible challenges to beliefs, sense of self, relationships.

**In-Depth Interview: Liberal Arts Education Study**  
**Integration of Learning Segment**

<b>Basic Foundation:</b> access Integration of Learning outcome and synthesize the student's experience as shared in the interview	
<b>Means to Access:</b> how your collective experiences are influencing your thinking about what to believe, yourself, and relations with others	
<b>Multiple Ways to Approach</b>	
<b>Synthesis</b>	
You've talked about some of your important experiences [such as x, y, z] and what they've meant to you. How did the experiences you've shared influence the person you are today?	Draw out meaning.
As you have reflected on your experiences, has anything come up that you expect you'll want to <i>explore further</i> ?	Describe, why is this important, how do you anticipate you will explore this.
How has this past year helped you think about how you want to approach <i>this upcoming year</i> ?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How has it shaped your goals?</li> <li>• How has it shaped your view of yourself?</li> <li>• How has it shaped how you learn?</li> </ul>
<b>Integration of Learning/Summary</b>	
We have about [x] minutes left and I'd like to be sure I have the key points you think are important. Thinking about your overall experience, what is the most important idea you <i>gained</i> from this past year?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where did this come from?</li> <li>• What prompted this?</li> </ul>
How has this <i>past year influenced</i> your everyday decisions and actions?	Possible Probes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do these experiences influence your thinking about college? Your goals here?</li> <li>• How do these experiences influence your relationships?</li> <li>• How do these experiences influence how you see yourself?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How do these experiences influence how you make decisions? How do they influence how you determine your beliefs and opinions?</li> </ul>
<p>How are you evaluating new ideas you've encountered thus far?</p> <p>Do any of the ideas you've encountered thus far conflict? If so, how are you thinking about that?</p>	
Tell me about any connections or themes you see among your experiences.	<p>Draw out description and meaning.</p> <p>Draw out the nature of these connections.</p>
Are there any <i>other observations</i> you would like to share?	Draw out description and meaning.
Are there any observations you'd like to share about participating in this study?	

## Appendix D. The WNS Guide to Summarizing

### **Guide to Creating a WNSLAE Transcript Summary**

03-11-09

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*The authors gratefully acknowledge the contributions of the Center of Inquiry in the Liberal Arts at Wabash College in support of this project. For further information, see <http://www.liberalarts.wabash.edu/nationalstudy>.*

*We also appreciate the contributions of research team members who helped craft this guide, in particular James Barber, Anat Levtoy, Brianne MacEachran, and Kari Taylor.*

Long, detailed interviews are rich and fascinating portraits of students' lives, and have the potential to provide key insights into students' educational experiences – and what educators can do to improve their experiences to promote liberal arts outcomes and student development. Rich as whole transcripts are, other steps involving data reduction are necessary to allow for data analysis. This is the function of the Transcript Summaries, to retain the substance of the interview while reducing the amount of data for analysis.

Analysis of the WNSLAE interviews should lead to an understanding of:

- (1) how and to what extent the specific programs, practices and conditions that a student experiences at an institution promote the development of liberal arts outcomes; and
- (2) how and to what extent the student's level of development (or level of readiness) affects the development of liberal arts outcomes.

We will create summaries in two phases to focus on these two questions. Each phase is described in a summarizing guide.

#### **Process for Dealing with Transcription Errors**

If you find substantial, meaning altering mistakes in a transcript, please notify Patricia King immediately, noting the transcript number, line numbers, and the nature and frequency of the mistakes. If you find minor typos and other easily correctable mistakes (such as “their” and “they’re” or reference to institution-specific acronyms), please make the corrections, alert the transcription coordinator, and upload the corrected transcript to IFS space in the correct institution folder under “Completed Transcripts” [Michigan team only]. Those outside the immediate Michigan team should bring this to Pat’s attention.

#### **Summary Submission**

When submitting summaries, treat Phase 1 and 2 as separate documents (see templates in this document for instructions on naming summaries).

## Phase 1 Summary Writing

### I. Goals of the Phase 1 Summary

- It will identify important student characteristics and any information the summarizer judges important to understand the interview.
- It will identify all experiences the student identifies as important, describe each experience, its effect on the student, the relationship of the effect to liberal arts outcomes, whether (and if so, how) the experience affected the student, and illustrate these observations with verbatim quotes from the student.
- It will also note those experiences in which the institution played an explicit role.

### II. Phase 1 Summary Format & Content

#### A. Transcript and Summarizer Identification Information

[see Summary Template later in this document]

#### B. Student Characteristics and Background Information

This is a brief introduction to the interviewee and includes relevant background information about the student. You may consider including details about the student such as major, family background and dynamics, and any information that might influence a student's experience (e.g., type of high school attended, living overseas, a summer internship, a health problem). A succinct paragraph or two will typically suffice.

#### C. Experiences the Interviewee Identifies as Important

1. Label each experience. The label is a short-hand method for team members to use internally when referring to a specific experience (and at this point, is not used for any other purpose).
2. Describe the nature of each important experience (e.g., the type of workshop attended, the pedagogical strategy used), the dynamics of the student's learning experience (e.g., instructor provided detailed feedback on writing assignments or the professor graded on a curve), the qualities of the learning experience (e.g., what aspects of a sorority initiation made the student feel welcome), etc. Be specific in describing the distinctive features of the practice, program or condition that affected the student's development, and provide enough information about the experience and its context so it will be team members reading it for data analysis can understand it.
3. Describe how the experience affected the student: Examples of effects include: s/he reported being more open-minded, felt less confident, reported greater independence, and became confused about what to do. Use the student's language as much as possible to describe the effect.
4. If relevant, identify the institutional role(s) the campus itself played in affecting the student's experience. For example, breaking up with a partner or a family

conflict, while important to the student, may not implicate a specific feature of the campus. However, if a student's relationship troubles led him to using and benefiting from Counseling and Psychological Services, then the institutional role (outreach to students regarding the availability of mental health services on campus) would be relevant to the experience and should therefore be listed. Base your selection of this role on what you gleaned from the summary (description plus the quotes); consider using the student's words here to capture the essence of the impact of the campus on the student's experience. Also, remember that our focus is not just on interesting features of this collegiate context, but on those institutional roles that enable or inhibit the achievement of one or more of the seven liberal arts outcomes. In naming the institutional role, be as specific as possible in describing these distinctive features.

Institutional roles may be embedded in campus-sponsored programs, pedagogy, residential programs, student activities, linked courses, and common instructional practices. Other examples include (but are not limited to) attributes of a living environment, intellectual environment (e.g., competitive, supportive, invested in my academic success), aspects of the peer culture (e.g., student attitudes toward drinking, expectations for community service, cliques, social group segregation), leadership opportunities, student reactions or attitudes to administrative decisions.

5. Relate the effect to specific WNSLAE outcomes: Use the student's language to describe outcomes (e.g., critical thinking, more open to others) and translate that to our outcomes (e.g. effective reasoning and problem solving, intercultural effectiveness) in your observations. Please refer to Appendix A (p. 14) for definitions of these outcomes. Note that some outcomes (e.g., well-being) have several dimensions – please specify exactly which dimension of the outcome this experience relates to.
  - a. An experience and its effect could promote a liberal arts outcome. For example, a student who learns to read texts more critically is growing toward effective reasoning and problem solving.
  - b. An experience and its effect could also hinder a liberal arts outcome. For example, a student who becomes more close-minded about difference due to peer interactions is losing ground on intercultural effectiveness.
  - c. Not all experiences have associated liberal arts outcomes.

#### **D. Interview Excerpts [“Footnotes”]**

These quotes illustrate the experiences and effects in the student's own words, and show the basis for your descriptions and assessments about this student's experience. These examples give you the opportunity to select and offer the best evidence from the transcript in support of your observations. When pasting in a quote, add context where it's not otherwise apparent in the quote itself. For example, what question is the student answering? To what experience, organization, person, etc. is he/she referring?

#### **E. Optional Exemplary Content Quotes [XC]**



Use the code XC to identify useful student quotes that are particularly pithy, but do not otherwise meet the criteria for inclusion in the summary. If you come across such a quote, include it at the end of your summary. Please add a few words to clarify the context of the quote or why you found it interesting.

## Phase 1 Summary Template

- Use 12-point Times New Roman font
- Use the correct summary template naming protocol (e.g., Summary1,G0712.doc)
- Follow summary template for headers: Summary, Phase 1 - ID, page X of Y in upper right hand corner (e.g., Summary, Phase 1 – G0612, page 1 of 11).
- Exemplary Content quotes should be included after the last numbered footnote and marked with an XC in front of a number; e.g. [XC1].

Summary, Phase 1

Summary ID number: (Letter that designates the institutional ID)(Year of data collection)(Transcript #) [Example: G0705]

Interviewer: Name

Summarizer: Name (Email address) [Example: Patricia King (patking@umich.edu)]

Date summary completed [Example: October 1, 2007]

When inserting direct quotes in sections I-II, please use **bold** to bring attention to the quote(s).

### I. Student Characteristics & Background Information

### II. Experiences the Interviewee Identifies as Important

1. Label for Experience: [# of transcript footnote(s)].

Nature/quality of the experience:

Effect of the experience

Institutional role: (if applicable)

How effect relates to Liberal Arts Outcomes: (if applicable)

(1) Well-Being (psychological):

(2) Moral Character:

2. Label for Experience: [# of transcript footnote(s)].

Nature/quality of the experience:

Effect of the experience:

Institutional role: (if applicable)

How effect relates to Liberal Arts Outcomes: (if applicable)

Repeat until all experiences are described.

### **III. Quotations Referenced Above**

[1] *Excerpt from transcript*

---

[2] *Excerpt from transcript*

---

.....

#### **[OPTIONAL: Exemplary Content Quotes]**

[XC1]

---

[XC2]

## **Phase 2 Summary Writing**

### **I. Goals of the Phase 2 Summary**

- It will provide an assessment of the student's level of developmental meaning making in all three dimensions – cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal – as well as an overall assessment of developmental level.
- It will provide the summarizer's observations on how the student's meaning making influenced his/her experiences and their effects.

### **II. Phase 2 Summary Format & Content**

#### **A. Transcript and Summarizer Identification Information**

[see Summary Template later in this document]

#### **B. Developmental Meaning-Making Level**

This section includes your assessment of the student's development on three dimensions – cognitive, intrapersonal and interpersonal – and an assessment of the student's overall developmental level. We recommend doing this holistically through a careful reading of the transcript rather than conducting a unit-by-unit analysis. Write several descriptive sentences or a paragraph, and illustrate your conclusions and observations through the verbatim examples organized into footnotes and by referring to other supporting pieces of information in the transcript that could be retrieved if needed. Assign a letter (see Meaning-Making Continuum later in this document) for each dimension and for overall development. This section should end with a statement on the richness of the data, which has an impact on the level of confidence with which we can say that the developmental meaning levels were accurately assessed.

#### **C. Summarizer Observations: Links between Development and Experiences**

Review the important experiences in the Phase 1 portion of the summary and consider how the student's meaning-making level influenced her/his experience. Note any links you observe regarding how the student's meaning-making level influenced how this student approached, engaged in, or reacted to experiences s/he described. For example, you would note that an externally defined student willingly interacted with diverse peers because she had been brought up to do so, but did not reflect on encountering difference or what it meant for her own identity or understanding multiple perspectives. In contrast, for another externally defined student, you would note that she felt considerable dissonance by encountering those with diverse perspectives, and reacted by realizing the need to rethink initial stereotypes about others. Finally, note the experiences you judge to be Developmentally Effective (DE) – that is, they resulted in a more complex view of the world, self or relationships.

#### **D. Interview Excerpts ["Footnotes"]**

Select verbatim quotes that illustrate the developmental meaning-making level in the student's own words, and show the basis for your assessments about this student's experience. Note these as "footnotes" using a number in brackets to refer to the specific number of the footnote. These

examples give you the opportunity to select and offer the best evidence from the transcript in support of your observations. When pasting in a quote, add context where it's not otherwise apparent in the quote itself. For example, what question is the student answering? To what experience, organization, person, etc. is he/she referring?

### **E. Optional Exemplary Self-Authorship Quotes**

Use the code XSA to flag exemplary quotes related to meaning making level. XSA's are quotes that illustrate some level of self-authorship [across the E-I continuum] particularly well. These are the ones we'd be after for research papers; marking these quotes as excellent examples now saves digging for them later. These quotes will likely appear in the body of the summary so simply mark them by writing XSA next to the quote (e.g., [XSA5] or [XSA7]).

Please see the summary template in the next page for formatting specifications.

## Phase 2 Summary Template

- Use 12-point Times New Roman font
- Use the correct summary template naming protocol (e.g., Summary2,G0712.doc)
- Follow summary template for headers: Summary, Phase 2 - ID, page X of Y in upper right hand corner (e.g., Summary, Phase 2 – G0612, page 1 of 11).
- Exemplary Self Authorship quotes should be marked by inserting an XSA in front of the footnote number; e.g. [XSA3].

Summary, Phase 2

Summary ID number: (Letter that designates the institutional ID)(Year of data collection)(Transcript #) [Example: G0705]

Interviewer: Name

Summarizer: Name (Email address) [Example: Patricia King (patking@umich.edu)]

Date summary completed [Example: October 1, 2007]

When inserting direct quotes in sections I-II, please use **bold** to bring attention to the quote(s). Follow formatting details from Phase 1.

### I. Developmental Meaning Making

#### Overall Meaning Making: [E-I Assessment]

Brief summary of the overall meaning-making level and assessment of meaning making on the E-I continuum. Include the “bottom line” on the E-I continuum in the header.

#### Cognitive: How the student thinks about the world: [E-I Assessment]

Include details of your assessment, the rationale for this assessment, and reference specific transcript excerpt; include the “bottom line” on the E-I continuum in the header.

#### Intrapersonal: How the student thinks about him/herself: [E-I Assessment]

Include details of your assessment, the rationale for this assessment, and reference to specific transcript excerpts; include the “bottom line” on the E-I continuum in the header.

#### Interpersonal: How the student thinks about his/her relationships with others: [E-I Assessment]

Include details of your assessment, the rationale for this assessment, and reference to specific transcript excerpts; include the “bottom line” on the E-I continuum in the header.

### II. Summarizer Observations

1. Caption for Experience: [copy the name from the Phase 1 Summary; e.g., Teaching & Learning Seminar]

Observations regarding how the student’s meaning making, either overall or on a particular dimension, influenced how this student approached, engaged in, or reacted to this experience. Does this experience meet the criteria for a DE?

*Yes: **DE – Developmentally Effective Experience.***

*No: Does not meet criteria for DE.*

2. Caption for Experience: [copy the name from the Phase 1 Summary]

Observations regarding how the student's meaning making, either overall or on a particular dimension, influenced how this student approached, engaged in, or reacted to this experience. Does this experience meet the criteria for a DE?

*Yes: DE – Developmentally Effective Experience.*

*No: Does not meet criteria for DE.*

Repeat until all experiences are analyzed.

### **III. Quotations Referenced Above**

[Quotes here are chosen to reflect development and are numbered 1, 2, 3 . . . in the Phase 2 Summary. Do not refer back to Phase 1 quotation numbers here].

[1] *Excerpt from transcript*

-----

[2] *Excerpt from transcript*

\_\_\_\_\_

## Meaning Making Continuum

September 18, 2007

Based on our experience creating summaries for the pilot and the first year longitudinal data, we have arrived at the following category continuum for interpreting meaning making in the interviews. We still want your narrative explaining why you think the interviewee makes meaning in the way you interpreted; we also want you to choose one of these points on the continuum for overall interpretation and for each dimension – cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal.

**A note about the overall interpretation:** This is NOT simply the “sum” of the three dimension interpretations. Rather, it is an interpretation of overall meaning making based on your judgment of each of the three dimensions. Clearly, if you chose the same letter for all three, the overall is going to be that letter (e.g., if all three dimensions are E(I), the overall will be E(I). However, if you have a mix, you should read your narrative explanation and arrive at the one that makes the most sense. For example, if you have E for cognitive, E(I) for intrapersonal, and E for interpersonal, it may not be wise to default to E. If the intrapersonal dimension is the strongest for the person, you may judge that E(I) is the best overall rating. If it is the weakest, you may judge the E is the best overall rating.

### **A Note on Language/Content versus Structure:**

Our interest is in the source of people’s thinking, feeling and social-relating, not WHAT they think, feel, etc. Students may advocate for multiple perspectives, diversity, weighing pros and cons for a decision from either an external or internal perspective. If they are parroting these ideas from an external source, they sound advanced when the underlying structure may still be external (e.g., students argue for social justice and diversity and in some cases they are saying what they think is expected). Likewise an internal person could advocate ideas that sound external (e.g., a strong stance on a religious belief).

The best way to identify structure as you read the transcript is to find the reasons for the person’s thinking. What is the central reason the person thinks this way? What is the central reason the person sees him/herself this way? What is the central reason the person constructs relationships this way? There may be multiple reasons – try to find the one that brings them all together into a coherent whole. Who is in charge of all this? The person or someone else?

Keep in mind, too, that we are making our judgment based on the material we have – and the interview may not be an accurate portrayal of the person. We are making our best interpretation based on the data we have, knowing that it is an educated guess. Subjectivity at its finest!

**The category system** we are using is explained below.

E (a, b, c)      E(I)              E-I              I-E              I(E)              I (a, b, c)

**External voice** means that the source of beliefs, values, identity and nature of social relations exists outside the person in the external world. The person relies on external authorities (actual authority figures or societal expectations) to determine what to believe, how to see



himself/herself, and how to construct social relations. Authorities' perspectives are accepted uncritically.

**Internal voice** means that the source of beliefs, values, identity and nature of social relations exists inside the person in their internal psychological world. The person reflects on, evaluates, and makes choices about information from external sources to construct an internally defined belief system, identity, and way of relating to others.

**Relationship of external and internal voice:** external voice is typically in the foreground early in college. At E(a, b, c) there is no meaningful internal voice. As an internal voice appears and grows, it moves closer to the foreground until it eventually becomes the foreground and the external voice moves to the background. When the internal voice is developed enough, the external voice disappears [this does not equate to external influence disappearing].

**E (a,b,c)** means **firmly external**. The majority of the transcript suggests reliance on external sources for knowledge, self-definition, and social relations. Any seeds of internal voice that may be present are not sufficient to take note of. While there may be LANGUAGE that sounds internal, we are focused here on structure. The overall structure is clearly external. Note that a person can rely on external to varying degrees. A person could be in "early" external (**Ea**) in which case they consistently and unquestioningly rely on external sources with no recognition of possible shortcomings of this approach. Alternatively, a person could be in "middle" external (**Eb**) in which case they rely pretty consistently on external sources but may be experiencing tensions in some areas in doing so, particularly if external sources conflict with each other. They look to authorities to resolve these conflicts. Finally, a person could be in "late" external (**Ec**) in which case s/he still rely on external for the most part but recognize that this stance has shortcomings. However, s/he has yet to develop a sense of internal voice toward which to shift. Thus the person using Ec still looks to authorities for some process to resolve these shortcomings.

**E(I)** means **primarily external** but with enough sign of internal voice that we should take note of it. The majority of the transcript suggests reliance on external sources for knowledge, self-definition, and social relations, however there is recognition of the *need* for an internal voice. For example, the person begins to question authorities' plans, realizes the dilemma of external definition, and sees the need for crafting one's own vision, developing one's internal identity, and bringing one's identity to relationships. This awareness of the need for internal voice may be in only one dimension, or it may be spread among the three dimensions. A beginning awareness of how the person constructs their world, identity, or relationships in comparison to how external others construct them emerges as the first sign of internal voice. The external voice is clearly still in charge and there is not yet any real struggle or conflict between the two voices.

**E-I** means **both voices are actively present and competing for dominance but external still edges out internal overall**. The internal voice is growing because the person is exploring how s/he wants to construct beliefs, identity, and relationships. The external may be predominant in some places, the internal in other places, yet the external still edges out the internal overall. The person is "controlled" by the external but fighting to get the internal to take over. Two examples of this are Kurt (pp. 98-99) and Lauren (p. 99) in *Making Their Own Way*. Kurt and Lauren both

have a growing awareness of how they see the world, themselves, and their relationships. These notions conflict with those of others around them whose approval they desire. They both articulate that they want to and should use their internal voices instead of act to please others, yet they both find it difficult to do.

**I-E** means **both voices are actively present and competing for dominance but the internal edges out the external overall**. Continued work on the internal voice takes the form of *listening* carefully to oneself and trying to hear one's internal voice over the noise and clutter from the external environment. The external may be predominant in some places, the internal in other places, yet the internal still edges out the external overall. The internal has taken over, but the external is still very much present and pulls on the person's internal voice making it hard to maintain the internal voice consistently.

**I(E)** means **primarily internal**. The person is now actively working to *cultivate* the internal voice, engaging in introspection to analyze interests, goals, and desires. The internal voice is becoming more firmly established and now mediates most external influences as the person makes decisions about life using the internal voice. The internal voice now is dominant, yet there may still be some areas in which the person still uses external enough that we should take note of it. Again this may be in one dimension or across dimensions. Note that an internal person does evaluate external sources – so using external still means *uncritical* acceptance of external authority. If the person is mediating external influence by critical analysis, this is still internal.

**I (a, b, c)** means **firmly internal**. The internal voice is the mainstay; the overall structure for knowledge, identity and social relations is all internal. The internal voice mediates external influence, critically analyzing it and making judgments about it based on internal criteria. If there are any leftover hints of external, they are not sufficient to note. There are still gradations of internal functioning. Initially this focuses on learning to *trust* the internal voice (**Ia**). Increasing use of the internal voice engenders confidence in it. Once a person trusts the internal voice s/he is able to build an *internal foundation* (**Ib**) by using the voice to establish beliefs, identity and social relations internally. As the foundation becomes more comprehensive, the person secures these *internal commitments* by living out these conceptualizations (**Ic**). In Ic the internal foundation becomes second nature.

In comparison to Marcia's longitudinal study language, *E (a,b,c)* and *E(I)* reflect external formula, *E-I* and *I-E* reflect the crossroads, *I(E)* reflects moving toward self-authorship, and *I(a, b, c)* reflects self-authorship and the internal foundation, which emerges when the person refines and solidifies her/his internal voice.

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